John Stuart & the Southern Colonial Frontier - John Richard Alden

ADDENDUM

While this book was on the press, another Regulator pardon was discovered. Dated June 29, 1771, the pardon (Miscellaneous Records, Volume OO, pages 614–615) was practically identical in form and language to the pardon of October 31, 1771 (Appendix C); it absolved eight Regulators: Joseph Kirkland, Henry Hunter, Thomas Woodward, Matthew Singleton, Philip Pledger, Charles King, Alexander Gordon, and Thomas Green. On Kirkland, Hunter, Woodward, Singleton, and Pledger see the index. Charles King lived in the Broad-Saluda fork, served in the Provincial Congress of 1775, and owned thirty slaves when he died in 1789. Thomas Green was a tax inquirer in the Congarees in 1767.

A. LIST OF SOUTH CAROLINA REGULATORS

Name—Approximate location of residence—Acreage ultimately owned—Slaves ultimately owned

1. William Ackary—Little R. of Broad R.—200 acres.
2. John Alran—Peedee R.—250 acres.
3. Enoch Andrews—Morrison's Cr. of Little R. of Broad R.
4. James Andrews, Sr.—Morrison's Cr. of Little R. of Broad R.—450 acres—1 slave.
5. James Andrews, Jr.—Little R. of Broad R.—100 acres.
6. Barnabas Arthur—Little R. of Saluda R.—300 acres.
7. William Arthur—Saxe Gotha.
8. Andrew Baskin—Little Lynches R.
9. John Boykin—Swift Cr. of Wateree R. (Fredericksburg Twp.)—15 slaves.
10. Samuel Boykin—Town Cr. of Wateree R. (Fredericksburg Twp.)—64 slaves.
11. Richard Burnett—Hanging Rock Cr. of Little Lynches R.—400 acres.
12. Robert Buzzard—Cannon's Cr. of Broad R. (Dutch Fork).
13. Rudolph Buzzard—Saluda R. (Dutch Fork)—470 acres.
14. James Carey—Camden—2262 acres—42 slaves.
15. Thomas Charlton—Camden—1200 acres.
16. Benjamin Cook—Camp Cr. of Catawba R.—200 acres.
17. John Cook—Cook's Ferry of Broad R.—300 acres—33 slaves.
18. Christopher Coulliett—St. Matthew Parish.
19. Robert Cunningham—Island Ford of Saluda R.—1000 acres.
20. Alexander Daley—Wateree Cr. of Broad R.—100 acres.
21. Mark Davis—Cedar Cr. of Broad R.—100 acres.
22. William Deason—Flat Rock Cr. of Wateree R.—100 acres.
23. Joshua Dinkins—Old Wateree loop of Wateree R.—211 acres—2 slaves.
24. Joshua English—Spears Cr. of Wateree R. (Fredericksburg Twp.)—1200 acres—45 slaves.
25. Benjamin Farrar—Amelia Twp.—200-plus acres.
26. Thomas Frankland—Sandy R. of Broad R.—521 acres.
27. Jacob Fray—Cannon's Cr. of Broad R. (Dutch Fork)—425 acres.
28. Jacob Frazer—Little R. of Broad R.
29. John Frazer—Saxe Gotha.
30. William Frazer—Little R. of Broad R.—200 acres.
31. Jacob Fulmore—Camping Cr. of Saluda R. (Dutch Fork).
32. John Fulmore—Dutch Fork—10 slaves.
33. Tacitus Gaillard—Santee R. (Eutaw Sprs.).
34. Daniel Gardner—Camden—100 acres.
35. Bartholomew Gartman—Saxe Gotha—300 acres—1 slave.
36. David Gibson—Little R. of Broad R.

37. Gideon Gibson—Sandy Bluff-Marrs Bluff, Peedee—1100 acres.
38. Benjamin Gigary—Crims Cr. of Broad R. (Dutch Fork).
39. John Goodwin—Mill Cr. of Congaree R.
40. Henry Gotes—Little R. of Broad R.
41. John Gray—Between Broad and Catawba R. (Fairfield Co.)—5 slaves.
42. Edward Grigg—Broad R.—600 acres.
43. John Grigg—Broad R. (Fairfield Co.)—100 acres—4 slaves.
44. Benjamin Hart—Camden—500 acres.
45. George Hicks—Welsh Neck, Peedee—1000 acres—42 slaves.
46. William Hill—Mill Cr. of Little R. of Broad R.—300 acres.
47. William Hilton—High Hills of Santee (St. Mark Parish)—450 acres.
48. James Holley—Lynches R. (upper).
49. John Holley, Sr.—Lynches R. (upper).
50. John Holley, Jr.—Lynches R. (upper).
51. Jonathan Holley—Lynches R. (upper).
52. Henry Horn—Fox's Cr. of Wateree R.—200 acres.
53. Josiah Horn—Camden District?
54. Henry Hunter—Wateree R. (Fredericksburg Twp.)—666 acres—27 slaves.
55. James Jones—Cedar Cr. of Broad R.—150 acres—1 slave.
56. John Kimbol—Camden District?
57. Francis Kirkland—Little R. of Broad R.—250 acres.
58. John Kirkland—White Oak Cr. of Wateree R.
59. Joseph Kirkland—Fredericksburg Twp.—1141 acres.
60. Moses Kirkland—Kirkland's Ferry of lower Saluda R.—11,460 acres—36 slaves.
61. William Kirkland—Cedar Cr. of Broad R.—750 acres—14 slaves.
62. George Lewey—Little R. of Broad R.—350 acres.
63. George Lightner—Little R.-Cedar Cr. area—548 acres—1 slave.
64. John Lightner—Little R. of Broad R.—825 acres.
65. David McGraw—Morrison's Cr. of Little R. of Broad R.—620 acres.
66. Edward McGraw, Sr.—Little R. of Broad R.—1550 acres.
67. Edward McGraw, Jr.—Morrison's Cr. of Little R. of Broad R.—150 acres.
68. Enoch McGraw—Little R. of Broad R.
69. William McGraw—Little R. of Broad R.
70. Alexander McIntosh—Welsh Neck, Peedee.
71. James Marlow—Camden District or Cheraws District?
72. John Marshall—Little Lynches R.—36 slaves.
73. Thomas Marshall—Little Lynches R.—100 acres.
74. Moses Matthews—Between Broad and Catawba R. (Fairfield Co.).
75. James Mayson—Glasgow Plantation, Halfway Swamp of Saluda R.—1400 acres—slaveholder.
76. John Miles—Camden District.
77. David Moore—Cedar Cr. of Broad R.—200 acres.
78. Morris Murphy, Sr.—Sandy Bluff-Marrs Bluff, Peedee.
79. Edward Narramore—Little Lynches R.
80. Averheart Neates—Between Broad and Catawba R. (Fairfield Co.).

81. James Nelson—Camden District—127 acres.
82. William Nettles—Between Broad and Catawba R. (Fairfield Co.)—92 acres.
83. James Owens—Jackson Cr. of Little R. of Broad R.—400 acres.
84. John Owens—Jackson Cr. of Little R. of Broad R.—100 acres.
85. Thomas Parrot—Little R. of Broad R.—550 acres—2 slaves.
86. Claudius Pegues—The Cheraws, Peedee R.—1000 acres—63 slaves.
87. Philip Pledger—Peedee R. (upper)—1161 acres.
88. Barnaby Pope—Little R. of Broad R.—550 acres.
89. Evan Pugh—Cashaway Neck, Peedee R.—1802 acres—17 slaves.
90. Laurence Rambo—Nobles (Horn) Cr. (Ninety Six Dist.)—850 acres—5 slaves.
91. Reuben Rambo—Cheves Cr. (Ninety Six Dist.)—100 acres.
92. Peter Rapesome—Junction of Cedar Cr. and Broad R.—600 acres.
93. David Robinson—Cedar Cr. of Nobles (Horn) Cr. (Ninety Six Dist.)—150 acres.
94. John Roden—Wateree Cr. of Wateree R.—300 acres—6 slaves.
95. James Russell—Jackson Cr. of Little R. of Broad R.—300 acres.
96. James Rutland—Cedar Cr. of Broad R.—100 acres.
97. Bryant Ryley—Little R. of Broad R.—300 acres.
98. John Savage—Ninety Six village—1130 acres.
99. John Scott—Camden—8 slaves.
100. Philip Shaver—Little R. of Broad R.—1275 acres—7 slaves.
101. William Simmons—Twenty-five Mile Cr. of Wateree R.—400 acres.
102. Matthew Singleton—Melrose Plantation, lower Wateree R.—1800 acres.
103. Christopher Smith—Dutch Fork.
104. Robert Stark—Camden—1250 acres.
105. Jesse Stevens—Orangeburg District?
106. Richard Taylor—Between Broad and Catawba R. (Fairfield Co.).
107. Elisha Teiger—Dutch Fork or lower Saluda R.
108. Thomas Trapp—Cedar Cr. of Broad R.—100 acres.
109. Wood Tucker—The Congarees—500 acres—7 slaves.
110. Matthias Weeker—Broad R.
111. John Welsh—Little Lynches R.
112. William Welsh—Grannys Quarter Cr. of Wateree R.—250 acres—11 slaves.
113. Samuel Wiggans—Mill Cr. of Little R. of Broad R.—150 acres.
114. Henry Wimpey—Between Broad and Catawba R. (Fairfield Co.).
115. William Wofford—Mitchell Cr. of Fairforest Cr. of Tyger R.—1400 acres.
116. Charles Woodmason—Camden—2150 acres and 18 slaves (before Regulation).
117. John Woodward—Cedar Cr. of Broad R.—7389 acres—55 slaves.
118. Thomas Woodward—Cedar Cr. of Broad R.—950 acres—11 slaves.

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(British?) K. G. Davies, Editor - WI SHS E203 D68

not well avoid when I observed how very desirous your lordship is of as full and particular information as possible of everything necessary to this great consideration. *Signed.* [C.O.5/1348, fo. 161]

CV

Report of Congress with Cherokees[1]

18 October, Lochaber

At a general meeting of the principal chiefs and warriors of the Cherokee nation with John Stuart Esq., Superintendent for the Southern District of North America.

Present: John Stuart Esq., Superintendent, Col. John Donelson, commissioner in behalf of the province of Virginia by appointment of his Excellency the Right Honourable Lord Botetourt, Alexander Cameron Esq., Deputy Superintendent, James Simpson Esq., Clerk of His Majesty's Honourable Council of South Carolina; Major Lacy from Virginia, Col. Gervais, Major Williamson, Capt. Colhoun, John Caldwell Esq., Capt. Winter, Christopher Peters Esq., Edward Wilkinson, John Hammerer Esq., John Purves Esq., John Bowie Esq., etc., besides a number of back-inhabitants of the province of South Carolina; and the following Indian Cherokee chiefs: Oucconnastotah, Attahkullakullah, Uka Youla, Kittagusta, Kujahetoy, Tiftoy, Tarrapin, Ecuij, Skaleloske, Chinista, Chinista of Watoga, Otacite of Highwassie, The Rat, and about a thousand Indians of the same nation; John Watts, David McDonald, John Vann, interpreters.

After the usual ceremonies of smoking the calumet of peace, the Superintendant opened the congress in the following speech.

Although it is not long since I had the pleasure of smoking with you at Congarees, I now meet you with equal pleasure as I am in hopes of being able to agree with you upon such a boundary line between your hunting grounds and the dominion of Virginia as may be agreeable to both parties. The finishing this important business to your mutual satisfaction has long been wished for by me and will give the greatest pleasure to my Lord Botetourt, His Majesty's Lieutenant and Governor of said province.

The Governor of Virginia has appointed this gentleman (Col. Donelson) to be present at our conferences and to deliver you a talk which you may consider as from my Lord Botetourt. He is now ready to speak and I beg you will be attentive to him.

Colonel Donelson speaks.

Friends and Brothers, I am sent here by the Governor of Virginia who informs you through me how much it is his sanguine desire and hope that the measures which may be entered into now by your chiefs and warriors and His Majesty's Superintendent will remove all the causes of complaints which he has been very sorry to hear of.

His Majesty has given directions to treat with you for some lands claimed by you within the limits of Virginia, and the Superintendent will point out to you the line proposed, which if you agree to, His

1 Enclosed in John Stuart's letter to Hillsborough, 28 November 1770: Vol. I, No. 755.

Lordship the Governor of Virginia has empowered Mr Stuart to deliver you a quantity of presents. His Lordship has directed me to give you the strongest assurances that after a boundary line shall be agreed upon, he with the other branches of the legislature of the colony will take every proper measure to prevent any encroachments on the lands you shall reserve for your own use and remove as far as possible all causes of complaint, in confirmation whereof in behalf of His Lordship I deliver you this belt of whampum.

Gives a belt of whampum.

The Superintendent speaks.

Friends and Brothers, I shall now proceed to the business that occasions this meeting. It is about two years since the treaty which I now hold in my hand was entered into by you at Hard Labour. By it the boundaries dividing your hunting grounds from the provinces of South and North Carolina and Virginia were agreed upon and fixed, and I transmitted copies of the treaties to the respective governors. The line then agreed upon respecting Virginia was to begin where that behind North Carolina ended, at the division of the two provinces, to proceed from thence in a northerly-by-east course to Colonel Chiswell's mine on the Great Conhoway, and thence to run in a straight direction to the mouth of the Conhoway where it empties itself into the Ohio. I was then in hopes we should have had no further occasion to meet and talk about lands, but it appeared that by said line the lands upon which a great number of families are settled between the Great Kanhaway and Holston's River would have been cut off from the province of Virginia and determined to belong to the Cherokees. The relief of so many families who would have been involved in the greatest difficulties and distress by said lines taking place was an object that engaged the humanity of my Lord Botetourt. His Lordship represented the matter to the King who was graciously pleased to order me to enter into a new negotiation with you for obtaining such a new boundary as may secure to the families settled between Holstein's River and the Conhoway the possession of their lands. There are many amongst you who know that said lands have been inhabited by them these twenty years. At the beginning of the war with the Northern Indians, they were driven from their habitations, but as soon as a peace was re-established, they took possession again. The line I am directed to propose for said purpose is to begin where that behind North Carolina terminates, and thence to run in a due west direction to Holstein's River where it is intersected by a line dividing the two provinces, and thence to run in a straight course to the confluence of the Conhoway with the Ohio. This line will cover the inhabitants and prevent their ruin by securing to them their possessions while it will not deprive you of one foot of your hunting ground, for you know you never hunted in the ground that is proposed to be given up to His Majesty by this line. It is not His Majesty's intention that you should injure yourselves by giving up your hunting grounds, neither is any such thing requested of you by my Lord Botetourt. But as I have brought with me a quantity of presents as a consideration for the lands contained within the abovementioned lines, I hope you will not refuse to confirm it as an

Re: Col Richard Pearis, etc

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acknowledgement of His Majesty's goodness to you and of your friendship for your white brethren.

A belt of white whampum.

I desire to have an answer tomorrow concerning my proposal and that you will at the same time determine upon the time of marking the line that shall be agreed upon, and the number of deputies who you propose to send for that purpose. This will be necessary that provision may be made for them and that commissioners from Virginia with my deputy may know precisely when to meet them. Your deputies will be attended by Mr Cameron and an interpreter.

Friday 19th October

The Superintendent and the chiefs and warriors being met as the day before, the congress was opened as usual.

Oucconnastotah speaks.

Father, we have done smoking, we will proceed on our talk, our thoughts are straight, and this is a clear time of the day. Now we have seen one another, you are my father, whom we have met to have a good talk, and I conclude it will be so. I live at the farthest town in the nation, and now we are met I expect we will have a good talk. I am come over great mountains to meet you, which I think little of.

Gives a string whampum.

You are sitting there, an old man as I am, to hear what passes, and I will now talk with the beloved man from Virginia.

(To Col. Donelson)

This is the first time we ever saw one another or talked together, but as the land has long been talked about, I now expect the business will be concluded. Several years ago the talk begun at Augusta and all the governors heard it. 'Tis but a little land you ask, but stop a little we will have more talk about it.

A string of white whampum.

We are all old men who are come over the mountains, there are but four of us, and we must wait a while to conclude upon it. You are like a small bird singing over one's house [*Marginal note:* esteemed a bad omen] but the business cannot be so soon determined. There are four or five old men come over the mountains, the young fellows are gone out to hunt and know nothing of this and will say why should these old men give away the land without our knowledge. There are seven towns over the hills and it is they must conclude this, and I will go and talk to the governor of Virginia about it, I will meet him and lay these beads upon the ground, and when the governor and I meet we will talk about the matter. Starnacres Place I do not think much of but my young men formerly hunted there. We will however talk more of this business hereafter.

A string of whampum.

When I go to Virginia I will eat and drink with my white brethren and I shall expect friendship and good usage from them. It is but a little spot of ground that you ask and I do not want to keep it from you and am willing your people should live upon it. I pity the white people but they do not pity me, for they will still keep up the price of goods. They are encroaching on us as far as they can, and if we go and ask them for provisions they charge us more than it is worth. As for the land below Keowee it is entirely wore out, and the Lower Towns' people are obliged to go over the hills to hunt; I will give the land as far as Starnacres but cannot give it any farther.

To the Superintendent.

Father, it is the white hunters that trouble us, let them go over the mountains and not hunt on Holston's River. But Capt. Guess comes into our grounds and hunts with fifty men and kills our deer and when we tell him of it he threatens to shoot us down.

Father, the people that live in the valley gave me a string of whampum to deliver to you and desired me to talk to you and tell you as long as they see these beads they will give a good talk and will thank me for this talk.

A string of beads.

Father, I now present you this calumet with two heads, the one looking to the other, which will put you in mind when you smoke that you are looking at your children.

Attahkullahkullah speaks.

I have thought of your proposal all night and now the day is come I will give you my talk. You are the messenger that brought the talk to which I listened very attentively, and I therefore expect you will listen as attentively to mine. We are now talking. You are the two beloved men, and here is another and we will have the talk over. It is a great while since this talk was begun, now we are come young and old to conclude it. When you all met at Augusta at the great congress, I believe you may remember what passed, and it is now continued. It seems like stepping out of the door to be at the white people's settlements. I do not know what my brothers mean: it seems like coming into our houses and encroaching on us greatly. It is long since this land was first inhabited. He that made this land gave it to the Indians to live upon but the white people's land is beyond the great water and the land on this side belongs to the red. The old warriors are all dead, there are young people grown up in their room. Yet the white people want to come into their doors, but the Great Being above is looking down to see no injustice done us. There are three Great Beings above, one who has charge of the white, one of the red, and one of the black people, who take care of their several charges, but this the white people knew before me for they had writings from above. The Great Being above is very good and provides for everybody, it is he that made fire, bread, and the rivers to run, he gave us this land, but the white people seem to want to drive us from it. You are all talking together fast, I always talk loud that everybody may hear me. I expect to live in love and unity with my white brethren, and as to anything concerning the land I can give no answer to it at present. What we say is a law to our people but it is not the case amongst the white people for the traders say different things and have different regulations. The inhabitants on this side the mountains have driven away all our deer, and we find them very scarce. When we go over the mountains to hunt we find paths trodden by the Virginia people and houses built everywhere. Our people think that these settlements were not made by orders from

either you or the governor of Virginia, but that they did it of their own accord.

The Superintendent then desired to know where such settlements were.

To whom he replied there were two houses built on Holston's River last winter, and in two years more he was afraid the white people would settle quite up to their doors, and proceeds as follows.

There was a very good King over the great water when I was there, who promised me that goods should be cheap, but they are now very dear. When Mr Watts was a young man he traded cheap, but now goods are much dearer. The white people get lands that last for ever but the goods given us are soon gone. Now is the day we have appointed to conclude the talk. We never had such talks formerly but now all our talks are about lands and the white people settled thereon are deaf to us and will not hear.

A string of whampum.

Oucconnastotah speaks.

As for my elder brother, the Superintendent, I am now with him and what he says is a law to me, and it gives me great satisfaction to hear him talk. I pay great attention to him and never forget his words and always put the greatest confidence in what he says.

Gives a belt of whampum and a letter from the Governor of Virginia, as also a letter from Richard Paris, all which the Superintendent ordered to be interpreted unto the Indians.

The Superintendent speaks.

Brothers, I have attended to what you have said, and in order to give you an answer I must have recourse to the beginning of our talks about land.

You have mentioned what passed at the great congress at Augusta where four governors were present. I shall now put you in mind of something that passed there that you seem to have entirely forgotten. It is true that at Augusta we talked of land, but neither the governors there present nor I were authorised to transact any business of that nature. Our meeting was for a different purpose. As you mentioned what passed at Augusta upon that subject I will repeat it to you. My memory enables me to do it clearly but I do not depend upon that entirely, I have got it in writing.

During the conferences Attahkullakulla who spoke upon the occasion complained of encroachments, and in particular of settlements being made beyond the Great Conhoway or New River, and claimed Chiswell's Mine as your boundary. Governor Fauquier endeavoured to account for the settlement of the lands between New River and Holston's River. Attahkullahkullah said that as the abovementioned country was already settled, they did not desire the inhabitants should be obliged to remove but hoped no more patents would be granted beyond the Conhoway. The next day Attahkullakulla resumed the subject and said they had considered of the matter, and gave up the land between Holston's River and the Kanhoway and would confine their claim to the lands lying to the southward and westward of Long Island in Holston's River. In a little time after said congress, His Majesty's

pleasure was signified that the boundary lines should be ascertained, dividing the lands reserved by the Indians from those yielded to His Majesty in the different provinces. In consequence of this order which was the effects of the King's tenderness and paternal goodness towards you, you received those messages and talks from me concerning your boundary line which you now think were troublesome. I can affirm that in my treating with you I have been actuated by a sense of my duty to my King and a very particular regard for your interest. In every other respect I was entirely disinterested and I defy you and every other tribe of Indians on the continent to say that I ever asked or received a pound of leather or acre of land from you.

In your talks to me before we met at Hard Labour two years ago, you denied what had passed at Augusta, and peremptorily insisted upon all the lands to the southward and westward of Chiswell's Mine as your right. The Governor and Council of Virginia made no objections to your pretensions, and after my fruitless endeavours to learn their sentiments of the matter I received orders from the Earl of Shelburne to acquiesce in your demands, and a treaty was accordingly concluded for that purpose. The objections of the province of Virginia to the line agreed upon, their requisition of a more extended boundary, and the delay that was necessarily occasioned by waiting for the King's orders relative to it, I have frequently explained to you; and last April at Congarees you most earnestly insisted on having the matter finally settled and determined in October, and declared if the business was put off then you would never afterwards agree to any proposals about land and that the line running by Chiswell's Mine should for ever afterwards be looked upon as your boundary. In consequence of what then passed I was supplied with a fund by the province of Virginia for purchasing the goods which I have brought here at a great expense. I am come by your appointment, a beloved man is sent from Virginia to be present at our negotiations, I see a thousand of your people here, and now you tell me that the matter cannot yet be determined, that your young warriors are out a-hunting, and that you are determined to treat with the governor of Virginia concerning a further cession.

You may do as you please, but the goods are not to be delivered till the treaty is signed and the cession formally made. My Lord Botetourt has told you that the business is to be transacted by me and nobody else. I now tell you the same, and if the matter is not now settled I cannot tell when it will be done, for I shall not be fond of coming so far to meet you for nothing.

Gives a belt of black and white whampum.

After a good deal of debate and various proposals, the line was agreed upon as contained in the treaty.

Saturday 20th October

Present as the day before.

The Superintendent proceeded and explained the following treaty and afterwards it was signed by him and the principal chiefs. [C.O.5/72, fo. 22]

The bays and rivers abound with wild fowl such as geese, brant, ducks, and as good of their kinds as any I ever met with, both in the autumn and spring.

The woods are pretty well stocked with partridges and at some times of the year with pigeons. On the sides of the rivers and marshes there are curlews, snipes and some other birds of a smaller sort. The beasts are principally bears, foxes, otters, wild cats of a very large size, hares, martens, squirrels and mice. The bears in some parts destroy the sheep; and the mice this year are so plenty that they have in most places destroyed the little grain which was attempted to be raised. The inhabitants say their appearing in such numbers is periodical, once in every seven years. My opinion is it depends entirely upon the sort of winter we have, as I am informed the last was an uncommon one, the snow falling before the frost came on, by which means the ground was kept soft and the mice, in place of being partly destroyed by the frost as is commonly the case, bred under the snow; they are in size something between our mice and rats in England.

This side of the Island is but indifferently off for fish except in the spring, when I am told we may have a small kind of cod, mackerel, trout, bass, smelts, and several sorts of flatfish, pretty plenty. At present there are only lobsters and oysters, neither very good.

The climate since I have been here has been very fine, not much warmer than that of England, and so little rain that my labourers have been prevented working out of doors by it only three days since my arrival, and I expect we will have good weather until near the latter end of November.

The winters, I am told, are so mild in the woods that the inhabitants during that season make all the frames for their houses, saw boards, and do almost all their woodwork.

The French inhabitants have for some years past been mostly maintained by a few British subjects here, who have employed them during the summer in the fishery, and have been paid their wages in clothes, rum, flour, powder and shot. With the last articles they kill as many bears, seals and wild fowls as serve them for meat; the seal-oil they call their butter and use it as such. By this means agriculture has been so much neglected; there is not one bushel of corn raised by all the French inhabitants on the Island.

There are a few British families who have raised some, from whose accounts and from what I have seen myself I form my opinion of what may be done; and I really think this Island if well nursed in its present infant state may be made as useful to Great Britain and as plentiful within itself as any country of its size in North America; but to bring it to that we will require your lordship's countenance and influence to procure some assistance for us from our mother country.

There have arrived here this summer about one hundred and twenty families, part sent by Mr Montgomery, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, the rest by a Mr Stewart of that country. The last arrived about three weeks ago at Prince Town but very unfortunately for want of a pilot their vessel ran on shore at the entrance of the harbour and is entirely lost, and part of her cargo but no lives.

I have been obliged to give Mr Duport, our Chief Justice, leave to return to Halifax for this winter, as he had neglected to lay in provisions for himself and family during the summer: they must otherwise have been starved.

I am in daily expectations of a ship from London with passengers, and one from Ireland with Mr Desbrisay and family; though I dread the consequences if they do, as there is not a house for to put their heads into, and if they do not bring provisions to serve them until next June, they must absolutely starve, for there is not one loaf of bread nor flour to make one to be bought on the Island. *Signed.* [C.O.226/4, fo. 26]

CXII

John Stuart to Governor Lord Botetourt[1]

25 October, Lochaber

My Lord, I arrived here the 15th where I found all the Cherokee chiefs with their followers of all ages, about a thousand in number; they had arrived two days before me. I had also the pleasure of finding Col. Donelson here; he was exactly punctual to the time appointed, which I inclined to have been also but various unforeseen and unavoidable accidents rendered that impossible, although the difficulty of finding a sufficient number of wagons was what principally caused the delay on my part.

I have the honour of laying before your Excellency minutes [Vol. II, No. CV] of my proceedings with said Indians, as also a treaty [Vol. I, No. 848i] by which the boundary line dividing the lands ceded to His Majesty within the limits of the province of Virginia from the lands which they have reserved for their own use is stipulated and agreed upon. No persuasion could induce the Indians to give up Long Island on Holsten's River, and they have cut off six miles from the line pointed out by my Lord Hillsborough, as still more fully appear by the treaty and minutes; which I chose to acquiesce in rather than leave the business entirely unfinished. And here I beg leave to observe to your lordship that the bad effects of underhand machinations and private tampering with the Indians appeared throughout the whole course of the transaction. It is the first instance of any nation having shown a reluctancy to treat with me, it is the only one of my having failed in carrying a point with Cherokees. The loss however to the province is very inconsiderable; the small triangle that is cut off being of exceeding poor land except upon the banks of the river. I have travelled across it and have information from persons perfectly acquainted with that part of the country.

The Cherokees proposed to run the line after crossing Holsten's River a more westerly course than to the mouth of the Great Conhoway, to compensate for what they had cut off upon said river, which would have thrown in a great tract of country. But I declined accepting of

1 Enclosed in Nelson's letter to Hillsborough, 15 December 1770: Vol. I, No. 848.

it, not being authorised by my instructions to exceed the bounds pointed out in the report of the Lords Commissioners of Trade. However, as the line cannot be marked till May there will be sufficient time if your lordship thinks proper to submit the matter to His Majesty and receive his orders concerning it before it can be accomplished, and Mr Cameron who will attend said service will have instructions to execute whatever may be determined upon.

The number of Indians that attended far exceeded what I expected; indeed upon any former occasion where the most important business was transacted they never exceeded half the number, which misled me in making an estimate; and as upon such occasions the expense must depend upon contingencies which cannot be foreseen, it must of course be impossible to calculate exactly. Col. Donelson carries the state of the accounts so far as they can be made out, which I hope will give satisfaction; and upon my arrival in Charleston I shall close the account entirely, there being a very few small accounts which I am not as yet furnished with.

I beg leave to return your lordship my most sincere thanks for your candour in furnishing me with the minutes of His Majesty's Council of Virginia containing the substance of Ouconnastotah's letter and the Young Warrior's talk, the whole of which the Indians declare to be a forgery which must reflect disgrace upon the persons concerned therein. Mr Richard Paris was confronted with the Indians and they declared that the said letters as well as the grants of land obtained of them were represented as containing no more than their application to your lordship for a trade, when they signed them; and that the enclosed letter to me, written for them by Mr Jacob Hite, they understood to have been to the same purpose, and were amazed when the true contents were explained to them, to which they declared that they had been utter strangers. I shall add no more with regard to said letter and talk than that it would be ridiculous to imagine that I should oppose the establishment of a boundary which I myself had recommended.

With regard to the charge of misrepresentation contained in Col. Lewis's letter, it is of a very heavy nature and must draw my serious attention. If he can support his charge, I think, and it must be the opinion of every honest man, that I am unworthy of filling the station in which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to place me. If he cannot, and I call upon him to do it if he can, I shall expect the redress which the laws of my country entitle me to. In carrying on His Majesty's service, I am actuated by no motive but a sense of my duty, and if I can obtain the approbation of my superiors and a consciousness of having acted properly, I shall have gained my aim, for I am entirely unbiased and disinterested in every other respect.

I beg leave to return your lordship my most sincere thanks for having sent a gentleman of Col. Donelson's discernment and probity to assist me upon this occasion. He is thoroughly master of every particular relative to the negotiation of the line, and as I have an entire confidence on his honour and candour I beg leave to refer your lordship to him for every particular. *Copy*. [C.O.5/1349, fo. 20]

CXIII

Governor John Wentworth to Earl of Hillsborough (No. 34, duplicate)

28 October, New Hampshire

May it please your lordship, I have now the honour to acknowledge your lordship's letter No. 31.

It is peculiarly happy to me that I may inform your lordship of my success in removing those prejudices and bad impressions which had been artfully infused into the minds of the people upon the unhappy affair in Boston. For some time it was difficult to prevail on them from acceding to the most violent measures pursued at Boston, but having caused such a delay as to give time for reason and judgement to operate and informed them I was resolved in the first instance of violence to oppose them openly in person and call to my aid every officer in the province and that whatever ruinous or fatal consequences ensued must rest upon those whose illegal conduct compelled the event, and the principal men having resolved never to submit to popular anarchy excited an extensive zeal to discourage every indecency or unwarrantable effort to disturb the public peace; by which means the heated injurious resentments at first imbibed were quite eradicated and the people wisely concluded that as they had nothing to do in the case they would not enter into any measures relating thereto. Some little time after, an advertisement appeared inviting the Sons of Liberty to meet in the most public street in Portsmouth to read letters from the Sons of Liberty at New York and South Carolina. As this advertisement, though decently expressed, might or rather was intended to gather many people from whose inconsiderateness some very zealous conduct was hoped by those who received express directions from the Hydra-headed demagogues at Boston, I thought it prudent that the usual acting magistrates and the selectmen of the town should be prepared to come among them and legally disperse and separate them, if from their number or conduct it should be necessary; but on the day appointed there were very few convened and those were generally dissatisfied at their irregular invitation. However, the selectmen with becoming spirit and prudence warned them of the impropriety and futility of such meetings and forbid any act or thing to be done, for that the law had prescribed the method of convening the town and that all other means were disorderly and should not take place; to which the people assented with great approbation and in ten minutes the whole was finished. Those who had advertised being thus disappointed, they pursued the legal steps to convene a town-meeting, at which the first mentioned letters were read and after much debate whether to consider them or not, it was voted and a committee chosen to consider and report upon them at an adjournment for that purpose. In the meantime the town of Boston voted to exclude this province from all intercourse, wrote to Connecticut, New York and all the southern provinces, from whom this province is supplied with provisions, to engage them to exclude us also and thereby to starve and compel this province into their combinations. One of the Boston zealots was immediately dispatched hither by all means to procure the people to engage with him. He even had

which is made to continue only to October 1771 and has also reference to other matters which will require a different consideration to expire by its own limitation; and that your Majesty's governor be instructed that he do not for the future give his assent without your Majesty's permission first obtained to any law by which the duties of ten per cent upon slaves imported into that colony imposed by former laws shall be increased. *Entry. Signatories,* Hillsborough, Soame Jenyns, William Fitzherbert, Robert Spencer, Greville, William Northey. [C.O.5/1369, p. 50]

CXXIV

John Stuart to Head Warriors of Upper Creeks[1]

25 November, Charleston

Head beloved men and warriors, Mr Struthers brought your talk [Vol. I, No. 763vii] to Augusta and forwarded it to the back parts of this province where I was at that time at a meeting with the warriors of the Cherokee nation, finally settling the line between them and the province of Virginia, which business was finished to the satisfaction of the red and white people so that there will be no more talks about land between me and the Cherokees, and their line will be finally marked in next May. We had nothing but good and peaceable talks.

I am very sorry for the occasion of your talk by Mr Struthers, and it belongs to you as men of sense to try every means in your power to stop such proceedings by punishing persons guilty of murder. You know blood was formerly spilled for which no satisfaction was given, now there are two more men killed at Occoni. I am pleased to observe that you have not forgotten the talks and agreements entered into at Augusta; by your repeating them I conclude you mean to fulfil them, and you say the Occoni murder was under the consideration of the Oakfuskee warriors who I hope will do justice.

I believe what you say, that the headmen throughout your nation disapprove of such acts of violence; but that is not enough. You must exert yourselves and put the murderers to death. If I or my son was to kill any of you either would be tried and condemned to die, and you know that both Governor Grant and Governor Wright gave you immediate satisfaction by putting persons to death who killed some of your people.

Brothers, you must be sensible of the instances that I have given you of my friendship upon many occasions, and thereby be convinced of the good intentions of your white brethren. We were sorry to see you and the Choctaws spilling each other's blood but did not choose to interfere in your quarrel till I was strongly solicited by you both to use my endeavour to make peace between you. I did accordingly at your request send my talk to the Choctaws who I found equally desirous of a reconciliation; but the path was no sooner made straight and washed white than parties of your nation made it bloody again.

1 Enclosed in John Stuart's letter to Hillsborough, 2 December 1770: Vol. I, No. 763.

The pains I have taken to prevent bloodshed must convince you and all the nations of red men that your white brethren have never acted as instruments of dissension between the red people, but on the contrary wish to see their children grow up and their people increase; but you must not blame me for declining to interfere any more in your quarrel if the agreement and peace lately concluded at Pensacola be not observed by both parties.

I have nothing more at present to say to you about land. When the line behind West Florida shall have been marked by you and that behind East Florida by the Cowetas, then all messages about land will cease.

My friends, the talks sent into your nation by the Shawnese and other Western tribes you ought to have communicated to me. I know very distinctly what passed at the great meeting in Scioto, the Shawnese town, but I hope to hear and see that all Indian nations will behave like wise men. But if the Shawnese and nations to the westward choose to behave themselves like bad men, that should not induce you to be mad also. When you tell me that you hold me fast and have a dependence on the friendship and assistance of your white brethren, I am inclined to believe you, but then I am at a loss to find out why you have kept the business of the Shawnese messengers a secret from me. I hope for an answer to this part of my talk particularly, and that you will candidly impart what you know of this matter. This talk will be delivered you by Mr Joseph Cornal who will send me your answer as soon as possible. *Copy.* [C.O.5/72, fo. 105]

CXXV

John Stuart to Earl of Hillsborough

28 November, Charleston

My Lord, I have the honour of submitting to your lordship a journal of my proceedings [Vol. II, No. CV] with the chiefs of the Cherokee nation at a congress held at Lochaber on the frontier of this province, 260 miles distant from hence the 18th of October last.

Every step that could be thought of was taken by a set of self-interested men in the province of Virginia to embarrass me in the settlement of a boundary line. Emissaries were sent into the nation to practice upon the Indians and prevail upon them to refuse treating with me. The Young Warrior, Saluij, was decoyed into Virginia and a talk put into his mouth as will appear by the minutes of Council of which my Lord Botetourt was pleased to send me a copy [Vol. I, No. 755iv]. Forged letters were sent to Lord Botetourt and the Indians were brought to sign them under pretence that they were directed to the Governor of Virginia and the Superintendent requesting a trade from that province. The persons employed to transact this business were not unattentive to their own interest: in the same fraudulent manner they obtained for themselves titles to great tracts of land beyond the established boundary. These were Jacob Hite and Richard Pears, formerly an Indian trader. The former wrote the letters, conveyances of land etc. and carried off

the Young Warrior Saluij who died on his return home; the latter speaking their language remained to manage matters with those Indians.

I had information of their practices, which they knew; for which reason Mr Peares did not choose to appear at the congress without my permission, which he applied for as he said in order to justify his conduct. After the treaty was signed I sent for him and he came. I confronted him with the Indians in presence of Colonel Donelson, and they declared with great indignation their utter ignorance of the letters and talk referred to in the minutes of the Council of Virginia, as well as of the titles of land obtained from them, persisting that they understood them to be letters soliciting a trade as abovementioned.

I cannot here suppress an incident that gave me great pleasure as it showed the temper of the nation more than anything the chiefs could have said. I appeared a little warm at the second day's conference. After signing the treaty the principal chiefs with all the leading men came to me, attended by all the young people, and told that their young men thought I had taken great offence at what they had said and would not be convinced without hearing me declare to the contrary, which I very readily did.

Your lordship will be pleased to observe that I did not obtain the whole extent of country contained within the lines pointed in my instructions, the reason of which upon examination appears to be that they understood Long Island in Holsten's River would by the line proposed be given up to Virginia, to which no consideration would make them consent, an application having formerly been made to them by a trading company in said province for leave to build a trading house and establish a factory on said island, which they refused, and has impressed them with an idea that there is an intention of building a fort there; but the difference is not very considerable in point of possession, the land within this small triangle which is cut off being very poor.

The Indians offered by way of compensation for the land they refused to grant to run the line a more western course to the Ohio, which would have given a good territory upon that river; but I declined accepting it, not being within the limits of my instructions, and if I had been certain that your lordship would have forgiven it, I should not have done it as the precedent would possibly have exposed me to future solicitations.

I am extremely happy in having accomplished this important piece of service. The assiduity with which the Shawnese messengers were running through the Southern nations and endeavouring to ingratiate themselves with them and the hints I had of their attempting to draw them into a confederacy on the principle of defending their lands against encroachments, suggested to me the expediency of removing from the Cherokees all cause of complaint and jealousy on that head as soon as possible, and a late letter from his Excellency General Gage, of which I have the honour to enclose a copy [Vol. II, No. CIII] justifies my opinion. *Signed.* [C.O.5/72, fo. 20]

CXXVI

Petition of Charles Garth to the King[1]

29 November, Piccadilly

The humble petition of Charles Garth Esq., agent of your Majesty's colony of South Carolina, most humbly sheweth,

That your petitioner has received the commands of the Commons House of Assembly in your Majesty's province of South Carolina to express the grief and concern the House feels, under an apprehension of having incurred your royal displeasure manifested in a late additional instruction of the 14th April last to their Governor, which they most humbly conceive would not have taken place had they known of the representation transmitted in time to have been heard and to have vindicated the proceedings of the House before your Majesty's ministers, previous to the issuing of such instruction, and therefore to implore your Majesty's reconsideration of the said instruction.

The Commons House of Assembly as yet know not the nature of the representation which has been made to your Majesty, the lieutenant-governor looking upon himself as restrained from communicating to the House even such representations as he thinks fit to make to your Majesty's ministers of the proceedings of the House; but as by the said instruction it appears that the House has been represented to have lately assumed a power which it is said is become necessary to put a stop to, and therefore among other directions directing and requiring of the Governor that "his assent be not given to any Money Bill in which there is not an express provision that the money granted or any part thereof shall not be issued or applied to any other services than those to which it is by the said bill appropriated unless by Act or Ordinance of General Assembly", your petitioner humbly entreats to submit to your Majesty that the power which has been exercised must have been misapprehended, being far different from such power as is implied in the instruction. The order of the House of the eighth of December last, followed by an immediate resolution of providing for replacing the sum, is to all intents and purposes a vote of credit, by no means frustrating the intention of the legislature by an alteration of the appropriation of any moneys granted for particular services, is not a simple issue of any such money but borrowing a sum of the public, and there being commonly considerable sums in the Treasury which arise from surpluses of various taxes and duties, the balances of the funds are subject to disposal and appropriation different from that directed in the particular laws whereby the whole may have been raised to make good to your Majesty certain specific grants for specific purposes; hence the public Treasurer (in fact a debtor to) has been frequently considered and made a creditor of the public upon occasions that will not admit of the delay attending the raising money by regular legislation; and in the particular instance in question the public Treasurer having advanced the money mentioned in the said order and

1 Enclosed in Order of Council, 9 December 1770: Vol. I, No. 804.

the Young Warrior Saluij who died on his return home; the latter speaking their language remained to manage matters with those Indians.

I had information of their practices, which they knew; for which reason Mr Peares did not choose to appear at the congress without my permission, which he applied for as he said in order to justify his conduct. After the treaty was signed I sent for him and he came. I confronted him with the Indians in presence of Colonel Donelson, and they declared with great indignation their utter ignorance of the letters and talk referred to in the minutes of the Council of Virginia, as well as of the titles of land obtained from them, persisting that they understood them to be letters soliciting a trade as abovementioned.

I cannot here suppress an incident that gave me great pleasure as it showed the temper of the nation more than anything the chiefs could have said. I appeared a little warm at the second day's conference. After signing the treaty the principal chiefs with all the leading men came to me, attended by all the young people, and told that their young men thought I had taken great offence at what they had said and would not be convinced without hearing me declare to the contrary, which I very readily did.

Your lordship will be pleased to observe that I did not obtain the whole extent of country contained within the lines pointed in my instructions, the reason of which upon examination appears to be that they understood Long Island in Holsten's River would by the line proposed be given up to Virginia, to which no consideration would make them consent, an application having formerly been made to them by a trading company in said province for leave to build a trading house and establish a factory on said island, which they refused, and has impressed them with an idea that there is an intention of building a fort there; but the difference is not very considerable in point of possession, the land within this small triangle which is cut off being very poor.

The Indians offered by way of compensation for the land they refused to grant to run the line a more western course to the Ohio, which would have given a good territory upon that river; but I declined accepting it, not being within the limits of my instructions, and if I had been certain that your lordship would have forgiven it, I should not have done it as the precedent would possibly have exposed me to future solicitations.

I am extremely happy in having accomplished this important piece of service. The assiduity with which the Shawnese messengers were running through the Southern nations and endeavouring to ingratiate themselves with them and the hints I had of their attempting to draw them into a confederacy on the principle of defending their lands against encroachments, suggested to me the expediency of removing from the Cherokees all cause of complaint and jealousy on that head as soon as possible, and a late letter from his Excellency General Gage, of which I have the honour to enclose a copy [Vol. II, No. CIII] justifies my opinion. *Signed.* [C.O.5/72, fo. 20]

(878)

233

(649) 649-70

viii

(428)

iv (1773-3)

Stephens, reporting sending ships to St Vincent to awe the Caribs and a ship to Anguilla to protect inhabitants against shipwrecked Spaniards. *Copy*. 1½ pp.

ii. Anguilla, 20 July 1772. Captain W. P. Williams to Rear-Admiral Man, reporting situation. *Copy*. 1½ pp. [C.O.5, 119, fos. 338–343d; entry of covering letter in C.O.5, 247, pp. 93–94]

631

19 September, Whitehall

John Pownall to Richard Sutton, sending papers relative to insult to British vessel by Spanish *guardacosta* off St Vincent, and to Spanish ships wrecked on Anguilla. *Draft*. 1 p. [C.O.5, 138, fos. 258–259d; entry in C.O.5, 250, p. 55]

632

19 September, Quebec

Lieut.-Governor H. T. Cramahé to Earl of Hillsborough (No. 26), enclosing following. I have appointed Francis L'Evesque to be of the Council in Quebec. *Duplicate. Signed*. 1½ pp. *Endorsed*, R, 2 November. *Enclosed:*

i. Quebec, 24 August 1772. Ordinance for altering first day of Michaelmas term in City of Quebec from 15 October to 6 November. *Copy*, certified by H.T. Cramahé, George Allsopp. 2 pp. [C.O.42, 31, fos. 154–157d; entry of covering letter in C.O.43, 13, pp. 55–56; signed original of covering letter, endorsed Read 10 December 1772, in C.O.42, 8, fos. 95–96d]

633

21 September, Whitehall

John Pownall to Richard Sutton, sending papers relating to detention of British vessel and crew at Vera Cruz. *Draft*. ¾ p. [C.O.5, 138, fos. 260–261d; entry in C.O.5, 250, p. 55]

634

22 September, Whitehall

Same to Sir Stanier Porten, sending papers relating to Caribs of St Vincent, who are obtaining arms and ammunition from St Lucia and Martinique. *Draft*. ¾ p. [C.O.5, 138, fos. 262–263d; entry in C.O.5, 250, p. 56]

635

22 September, Halifax

Governor Lord William Campbell to Earl of Hillsborough (No. 89), acknowledging No. 52. I have recovered health and hope to continue

here. *Signed*. 1¼ pp. *Endorsed*, R, 1 December. [C.O.217, 48, fos. 138–139d; entry in C.O.218, 18, p. 22; signed duplicate, endorsed Read 29 April 1773, in C.O.217, 26, fos. 146–147d]

636

23 September, War Office

Viscount Barrington to Earl of Dartmouth. 6th regiment is to relieve 32nd in Ceded Islands; 50th regiment to relieve 36th at Jamaica; 1st battalion, 60th regiment, is to relieve 66th at Jamaica; 2nd battalion of 60th regiment to relieve 68th at Antigua. *Duplicate. Signed*. 1 p. *Endorsed*, R, 1 October, original not recd. [C.O.5, 167, fos. 17–18d; entry in C.O.5, 247, p. 95]

637

23 September, Admiralty

Philip Stephens to John Pownall, sending copy of letter from Vice-Admiral Parry signifying his readiness to co-operate with troops from North America against Caribs of St Vincent. *Signed*. 1 p. *Endorsed*, R, 24th. [C.O.5, 119, fos. 344–345d; entry in C.O.5, 247, p. 94]

638

23 September, Charleston

John Stuart to Earl of Hillsborough (No. 46), acknowledging No. 26. Marking Indian boundaries of West Florida has been postponed while there is hope of further cession from Creeks. West Florida contributed nothing to expense of congresses. Enclosed correspondence informs you of squabble between Chickasaws and inhabitants of Illinois. For bad news from Cherokees, see Mr Cameron's letter. David Taitt appointed commissary in Creek nation. All Indian nations seem alarmed at emigration of back-inhabitants of Virginia to Mississippi. *Signed*. 3½ pp. *Endorsed*, R, 25 November. *Enclosed:*

i. Fort Chartres, 29 May 1772. Major Isaac Hamilton to [Charles Stuart] reporting affray at Kaskaskias in which two Chickasaws and one Englishman were killed. *Copy*. 2 pp.

ii. Kaskaskias, 30 May 1772. Captain Hugh Lord, O.C. Kaskaskias, to [Charles Stuart], giving details of affray. *Copy*. 1½ pp.

iii. Pensacola, 23 June 1772. Charles Stuart to Governor Peter Chester. Expense of marking line with Choctaws last January, and with Creeks when done, is to fall on W. Florida. *Copy*. ¾ p.

iv. Pensacola, 24 June 1772. Governor Chester to Charles Stuart. Expense of marking line with Choctaws and Creeks is to fall on Superintendent. *Copy*. 1 p.

v. Mobile, 7 July 1772. Charles Stuart to John Stuart, sending Nos. i-ii, with comments. In view of No. iv, I wait further orders on

marking Creek boundary. Lieutenant Thomas gave himself up; it is now believed he acted on defensive and will be acquitted. *Copy*. 3 pp.

vi. Cherokee Nation, 21 July 1772. Talk from Oconostota, Judd's Friend, Willanawaw and Old Tassel to [Alexander Cameron]. Report that we intend to join Northern Indians against whites is false. We, Northerns and Westerns, will go on talking till spring. We have restricted what rum the traders may bring. *Copy*. 1 p.

* vii. Affidavit, sworn in Council of West Florida, 4 August 1772, by Joseph Dawes, hireling of William Gregory, Indian trader in Creek nation, reporting overheard conversation in which Emistisiguo first said he was for war with whites, then that he was not but could not see how it could be avoided. *Copy*. 2¼ pp.

viii. Lochaber, S.C., 9 August 1772. Alexander Cameron to [John Stuart] reporting news of seven, perhaps eleven, whites murdered by Rogue Mankiller. Mr Paris should be prosecuted for defrauding Indians of lands. *Copy*. 1½ pp.

ix. 12 August 1772. Abstract of letter from Charles Stuart to [John Stuart]. Creeks are making peace with Choctaws. Lefleur has stopped Arkansas from coming down. *Copy*. ½ p. [C.O.5, 73, fos. 403–423d; entry of covering letter in C.O.5, 228, pp. 191–195]

639

24 September, Fort Johnson, S. Carolina

* Governor Lord Charles Montagu to Earl of Hillsborough, acknowledging No. 53 and disapprobation of speech to Assembly. I have called Assembly to Beaufort on 8 October. Opposition have already met and made resolutions regarding tax bills. Calling Assembly to Beaufort and frequent prorogations would bar attendance of men most violent in opposition. I shall prorogue Assembly from Beaufort to Charleston. The few friends of administration here need countenance from home. Placemen are too disposed to please both parties. *Signed*. 6¼ pp. *Endorsed*, R, 25 November. [C.O.5, 394, fos. 167–170d; entry in C.O.5, 410, pp. 13–20]

640

24 September, Charleston

John Stuart to Earl of Hillsborough (No. 47), enclosing papers on Lieutenant Thomas whose defence does not operate strongly in his justification. *Signed*. 1½ pp. *Endorsed*, R, 25 November. *Enclosed:*

i. Fort Bute, 16 April 1772. John Thomas to Governor Peter Chester, enclosing affidavits, accusing Fitzpatrick of being a Romanist in Spanish interest, and claiming great influence with Indians. I have prevailed with seven tribes to return from Spanish to English interest. *Copy*. 3½ pp.

ii. Affidavits and certificates by Oliver Pollock, 4 October 1771; William Escott and others, 20 November 1771 [MS: 1772]; William Richards 21 November 1771; Henry Lefleur, 10 January 1772; John Fitzpatrick, 12 February 1772; James Kelly, 20 March 1772 and 5 May 1772; Pierce Castello, 26 March 1772; Christopher Long, 26 March 1772; George Keyzer, 11 May 1772; Henry Lefleur, 10 May 1772; John Thomas, 8 August 1772; William Johnstone, 10 August 1772; Thomas Fisher and others, 10 August 1772; John Thomas, 10 August 1772; extract of letter from Alexander McIntosh to John Thomas: all concerning Thomas's conduct as Indian deputy on Mississippi. *Copies*, certified by William Ogilvy. 16 pp.

iii. Pensacola, 13 July 1772. John Thomas to John Stuart. I am on parole. Report says you are my enemy but I will not be persuaded without proof. *Copy*. ¾ p.

iv. Pensacola, 24 July 1772. Same to Brig.-General Haldimand, asking for court of inquiry into his conduct. *Copy*. 1¼ pp.

v. Pensacola, 13 August 1772. Same to John Stuart, making accusations against Fitzpatrick and others. *Copy*. 2½ pp.

vi. New Orleans, 8 January 1772. Governor Luis de Unzaga y Amesaga to John Thomas, concerning Indians in British and Spanish territories and need to maintain the treaty. *Spanish*. *Copy*. 2½ pp.

vii. Charges by John Stuart against John Thomas. *Copy*, of No. 391xxvi. 1 p.

viii. Answers by John Thomas to above charges. *Copy*. 5 pp.

ix. Observations on Thomas's answers, by John Stuart. *Signed*. 7 pp. [C.O.5, 73, fos. 424–451d; entry of covering letter in C.O.5, 228, pp. 196–197]

641

25 September, Admiralty

Philip Stephens to John Pownall, enclosing following. ¼ p. *Enclosed:*

i. London, 14 January 1762. Commission for trial of pirates in Jamaica. *Copy*. 14¼ pp. [C.O.5, 119, fos. 317–328d]

642

26 September, N.H.

Governor John Wentworth to Earl of Hillsborough, acknowledging No. 37. My commission as Surveyor of Woods requires me to report to Secretary of State as well as to Treasury and Admiralty. Case of Kennebec proprietors comes to trial next month in Admiralty Court, Boston. Silvester Gardiner has brought actions against employees of contractors for cutting masts. If decision is against Crown, I shall appeal to Court of Admiralty in England. *Signed*. 3½ pp. *Endorsed*, R,

memorial of complaints, not proposals for civil government. I was shown rough sketch corresponding to what Major Hamilton reported; it appeared to have been drawn on republican principles. I would not confer on such government, and have received no proposals for eighteen months. Reply of settlers at Post Vincent enclosed; no deputies have yet appeared. Ohio Indians were at Kaskaskias, holding meetings with tribes on Mississippi and Missouri. Captain Lord hoped to make peace with Kikapous. I cannot delay sending necessaries to Captain Lord beyond beginning of May. Order for detachment to be left at Fort Pitt arrived too late, troops had all marched except four. *Signed.* 4¼ pp. *Endorsed,* R, 15 February. *Enclosed:*

i. Poste Vincenne, 21 July 1772. French inhabitants to [Captain Lord], acknowledging order to quit. We intend to represent our rights to General Gage by two deputies. *Copy. Signatories,* Le Deloin, Ste Marie and ten others. [C.O.5, 90, fos. 102–106d; entry of covering letter in C.O.5, 235, pp. 68–74]

893

6 January, New York

Same to John Pownall, acknowledging letter of 7 October. No proposals had been received from inhabitants of Illinois. *Signed.* 1¼ pp. *Endorsed,* R, 15 February. [C.O.5, 90, fos. 107–108d; entry in C.O.5, 235, pp. 74–75]

894

6 January

* Memorial of George Cartwright to Earl of Dartmouth, describing seal fishery, salmon fishery, fur trade, whale fishery, and Indian trade with Eskimos in Labrador, and praying for grant of coast of Labrador between Cape Charles and Cape St Lewis. Memorialist was dispossessed of salmon fishery in River Charles by Mr Pinson of Dartmouth in 1770. *Signed.* 8½ pp. *Endorsed,* Read 28 January 1773. [C.O.194, 18, fos. 161–167d]

895

7 January, New York

Governor William Tryon to Earl of Dartmouth (No. 11). Assembly met 5th inst., my speech enclosed. *Signed.* ½ p. *Endorsed,* R, 15 February. *Enclosed:*

i. 6 January 1773. Governor Tryon's speech to Assembly of New York. *Signed.* 4 pp. [C.O.5, 1104, fos. 52–55d; duplicate of covering letter, dated 5 January, endorsed Read 20 December 1773, and copy of enclosure, in C.O.5, 1077, fos. 16–18d; printed copy of enclosure in C.O.5, 1076, fos. 241–242d; entry of covering letter in C.O.5, 1139, p. 2]

896

7 January, Boston

* Governor Thomas Hutchinson to Earl of Dartmouth (No. 10), acknowledging No. 3. Dangerous plot of drawing all towns of province and all Assemblies on continent publicly to declare against Parliament's authority obliged me to make a dispassionate state of case to General Court. I hope for H.M.'s approbation. Commissioners at Rhode Island are entering on business. You will see extracts from letter to Governor Wanton in enclosed newspaper. *Duplicate. Signed.* 1¾ pp. *Endorsed,* R, 22 February, original not recd. [C.O.5, 762, fos. 37–38d; signed original, endorsed Read 20 December 1773, in C.O.5, 895, fos. 44–45d; entry in C.O.5, 768, pp. 284–287; enclosure not found]

897

7 January, Boston

* Same to John Pownall [private]. Leaders of opposition planned to draw towns to declare against authority of Parliament. This put me under necessity of stating the case between the kingdom and the colonies. Speech to Council and House of Representatives of 7 January sent. Members seemed amazed. *Entry.* 1½ pp. [C.O.5, 246, pp. 55–56]

898

8 January, Charleston

* John Stuart to Earl of Dartmouth (No. 3), enclosing papers concerning Mr Wilkinson. In 1768 Cherokees ceded land to Mr Cameron, to which I dissented; in 1769 Richard Pearis and Jacob Hite obtained lands from them, selling part to immigrants, for which I have instituted prosecutions; and in 1770 they ceded land to Wilkinson in payment of debts. In all, not less than 6–700,000 acres. *Signed.* 3¼ pp. *Endorsed,* R, 18 March. *Enclosed:*

i. 8 December 1770. Map of Cherokee cession on Broad and Saludy Rivers to Wilkinson and others, measured and laid out by Patrick Calhoun. 1 large p.

ii. Hard Labour, S.C., 15 October 1768. Abstract of minutes of congress, concerning Cherokee cession to Alexander Cameron. *Copy.* 1½ pp.

iii. Memorial of Edward Wilkinson, trader, to John Stuart, requesting permission to accept land from Cherokees in lieu of debts, or that S. Carolina should accept it and pay him. *Copy.* 1 p.

iv. Keowee, 7 November 1770. Oconostota to [John Stuart], requesting permission to cede land to Wilkinson. Interpreters, John Watts, David McDonald. *Copy.* 1½ pp.

v. Keowee, 11 April 1771. Edward Wilkinson to John Stuart,

xi. Custom-house, Savannah, 18 October 1773. Alexander Thomson and William Brown to Governor Wright, enclosing Nos. iii-ix, and commenting on smuggling which might be reduced by proper water-guards. Small incomes of revenue-officers make them not so independent as they ought to be. *Signed.* 3 pp. [C.O.5, 663, fos. 7–37d; entry of covering letter in C.O.5, 679, pp. 67–68]

1665

20 December, Pensacola

Governor Peter Chester to Earl of Dartmouth (No. 20), enclosing following. *Signed.* 1 p. *Endorsed,* R, 15 April. *Enclosed:*

i. List of all grants of land which have passed great seal of West Florida on family-right and purchase since arrival of Governor Chester on 10 August 1770 to 4 November 1773. Total: 184 grants, 93,094½ acres. Location of grant, number of acres on family-right, number of acres on purchase, and sums paid, stated. Purchase money, at 5s. for 50 acres: £465 5s. 4½d. *Signed,* for Philip Livingston jnr., receiver-general, by Alexander Macullagh, his attorney. 6½ pp. [C.O.5, 591, pp. 103–114; entry of covering letter in C.O.5, 621, p. 218]

1666

21 December, Charleston

* John Stuart to Earl of Dartmouth (No. 15), enclosing papers. It would be difficult to stop intercourse between Creeks and Spaniards other than by stationing vessel of force at Pia Creek. Judgement given against Richard Pearis and Jacob Hite, who relinquished claim to lands beyond boundary in virtue of Indian title. Great Warrior of Chote, supreme governor of his nation, came to Charleston: he assured me of his immutable attachment to British interest. I hope I have prevented his nation's taking part in Creek-Choctaw war. *Signed.* 4 pp. *Endorsed,* R, 28 January 1774. *Enclosed:*

* i. 11 October 1773. Abstract of letter from Alexander Cameron to John Stuart, reporting mission to Cherokee nation. Murders by Second Man were undoubtedly an accident. Cold Weather lately killed an old woman at Settico and was tomahawked for it. Richard Pearis trades rum for horses stolen by Indians. I have arranged for witnesses including Great Warrior of Chote to be at Ninety Six for Circuit Court proceedings against Pearis. Little Carpenter has gone to war. Old Corn Tassel delivered up his medal but will accept another. I gave small medal to Mankiller of Equonulifte. Two Indians missing on Chunirostee, believed murdered by whites. *Copy.* 5½ pp.

ii. 30 November 1773. Abstract of letter from Robert Mackay, merchant at Augusta, to William Ogilvy, enclosing following. Emistisiguo reported dangerously wounded in fight with Choctaws. *Copy* ½ p.

iii. Abstract of letters from David Taitt to John Stuart, dated Woositchie, 9 September 1773; Hickery Ground, 24 September, 28 September, 25 October, 12 November 1773; reporting mission to Creeks. *Copy.* 8 pp.

iv. 8 November 1773. Report of meeting held at Great Oakchoys, Upper Creek nation, by Otis Mico or the Mortar, Mico Ihlucko, etc. Present: fourteen Cherokees. *Copy.* 2 pp.

v. 28 September 1773. Talk by Emistisiguo to John Stuart, denying friendship for Spaniards. Interpreter, James Germany. *Copy.* 1¼ pp. [C.O.5, 75, fos. 6–22d; entry of covering letter in C.O.5, 228, pp. 292–296]

1667

23 December, East India House

Chairman of East India Company to Earl of Dartmouth, enclosing following. ½ p. *Endorsed,* R, 25th. *Enclosed:*

i. Boston, 18 October, 30 October and 4 November 1773. Extracts of unsigned, unaddressed letters, forseeing opposition to landing of tea now expected. *Copy.* 4 small pp.

ii. New York, 5 November 1773. Extract of unsigned, unaddressed letter. If expected tea is subject to duty, I doubt if it will be safe; people would rather buy poison. *Copy.* 1½ small pp.

iii. New York, 5 November 1773. Extract of unsigned, unaddressed letter. Import of tea is violently opposed by smugglers. *Copy.* ¼ small p.

iv. London, 21 December 1773. Extract of unsigned, unaddressed letter. Tea may meet with less opposition in New York than in Philadelphia. *Copy.* ½ small p.

v. Undated, unsigned, unaddressed letter. Advice from Philadelphia of opposition to tea. *Copy.* ½ small p.

vi. Scots Yard, 22 December 1773. Unsigned, unaddressed letter. I expect principal gentleman at New York will be able to suppress every riot in opposition to import of tea. *Copy.* 1½ pp.

vii. Undated, unsigned, unaddressed letter. No news yet of arrival of ship with tea in South Carolina. *Copy.* ½ p.

viii. Undated, unsigned, unaddressed letter. No news yet of arrival of tea in Boston. *Copy.* ¼ small p. [C.O.5, 133, fos. 119–137d; entry of covering letter in C.O.5, 247, p. 167]

Mr Wilkinson (the person mentioned in Mr Ward's letter and to whom the Cherokees want to give up the surplus land mentioned and described in the enclosed plan containing 177,907 acres as payment of debts due to him by said Indians) embarks for England in order to solicit His Majesty's grant of said lands, I thought it my duty to submit the enclosed papers and as far as I can explain these land transactions.

Some time in the year 1768 the Cherokees laid out the tract of land marked on the within plan to my deputy Mr Cameron for a son which he had by an Indian woman. I think it is an area of about 12 miles square. I was not properly informed of this transaction until the month of October the same year when I met the Cherokees at Hard Labour in order to ratify and confirm the boundary line dividing their hunting grounds from what they had ceded to His Majesty within this province, when after the treaty had been signed Ouconnastotah principal chief arose and taking Mr Cameron by the hand addressed me as contained in the within abstract from the minutes of said congress. I declared my dissent to the proposal in the words contained in said abstract and I reprehended Mr Cameron for entering into any negotiation of such a nature so incompatible with the trust reposed in him.

Some time the following year Richard Pearis and Jacob Hite both from Virginia went into the Cherokee nation and obtained cessions of large parcels of land, the former under a pretence of his having a son by an Indian woman, the latter fraudulently by pretending to write letters to the governor of Virginia and me, by which means he got the Indians to sign a deed of cession. When I met the Cherokees at Lochaber in 1770 to settle the Virginia line, I found great fault with the chiefs for having contrary to their promise given away any land without an application by me. I confronted them with Pearis, when they denied their having signed any paper but what they understood to have been a letter to Lord Botetourt and me relative to trade. As none of the abovementioned parcels of land have been accepted of by me for His Majesty or included within the boundary lines then agreed, I have not heard that Mr Cameron has taken possession of any part of it. Pearis and Hite have not only taken possession themselves but have sold great tracts to emigrants from the Northern Colonies and have lately been treating for and marking out more land which sets a bad precedent and causes great confusion. I thought it my duty to take every step to remedy this evil and by advice of His Majesty's Attorney-General of this province I have directed prosecutions to be commenced against the said Pearis and Hite, the issue of which I shall be careful to communicate to your lordship.

At the same congress in 1770 the Cherokee chiefs declared their inclinations to give to Mr Edward Wilkinson or to cede to His Majesty a parcel of land by way of satisfaction or payment of their debts due to Mr Wilkinson; but this proposal appearing to me at that time to have been of a new nature and unexpedient, I discountenanced it also. And here, my lord, I must do Mr Wilkinson the justice to say that he did not take any clandestine or underhand steps to carry his point, and it was not till the month of December following and after the Georgia traders had solicited and obtained from the Cherokees a cession of a large tract in that province

by way of payment of their debts that he had the abovementioned lands run out for him.

The cessions abovementioned in favour of Mr Cameron's son, Pearis, Hite and Mr Wilkinson do not contain less than 6 or 700,000 acres of very excellent land but approach so near the Cherokee towns that I declined accepting of them when I settled the boundaries.

I must beg leave to observe to your lordship that if His Majesty should be pleased to order the Creeks and Cherokees to be treated with for the lands in Georgia, and if said lands are to be disposed of for payment of the debts due by the Indians to the traders, Mr Wilkinson will have a right to his proportion of the sum arising from the sale of them in common with other traders. *Signed.* [C.O.5/74, fo. 35]

X

Examination of Aaron Biggs[1]

14 January, Council Chamber, Newport
The examination of Aaron a mulatto upon oath, taken this 14th day of January, A.D. 1773.

Aaron Biggs aged eighteen years or thereabouts declares that at the age of 5 years he was bound by the town of Portsmouth an apprentice to Capt. Samuel Tompkins of Prudence Island until he should arrive at the age of twenty-four years, from which time until he went on board the man-of-war he was constantly in the service of the said Capt. Tompkins as a labourer on his farm. That his master kept a two-mast boat to transport his farm-produce to market which was the only sailboat within five miles of his master's farm at the time the *Gaspee* was burnt. That at that time one Remington who lived about one mile from where the deponent lived had a rowboat large enough for six hands to row; also one Ephraim Peirce at about a mile and a half distance had a two-mast boat; and that the sails of his master's boat had been taken off his master's boat some time [be]fore the night on which the *Gaspee* was burnt and she leaked in such a manner that she could not sail. That a little after sunset on the night on which the *Gaspee* was burnt he left the island of Prudence but does not know the day of the week or day of the month. That he went off the island in a little fishing boat of two oars, which boat lay just below the house. That about sunrise [MS: an rise] and about an hour after daybreak he returned to his master's house from the shore where they landed the people belonging to the *Gaspee*, which shore was about a mile from the *Gaspee* and the *Gaspee* about six miles from his master's house and that it was about four or five miles from his master's to the place where they landed the *Gaspee's* people. That he found the oars in the boat that he went off the island in. That the reason he went off the island was to carry the boat round the east side of the island to carry a man named Samuel Faulkner, a hired man, to Bristol the next night and that this young man told the deponent that he would ask his master's leave for that purpose. That going round the island, at about half a mile from the shore of the

1 Enclosed in Governor Wanton's letter of 15 April 1774 to Dartmouth, which will be included in Vol. VII.

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island he met a boat and one Potter whose Christian name he does not know and whom he in company with Faulkner abovementioned had once seen on a wharf at Bristol and there heard him called by the name of Potter, and further says that said Faulkner told him that that person was the man who owned the rope-walk at Bristol which they had been in. That when he met said Potter as abovementioned he was in a boat which was rowing with eight oars. That the time he met the said Potter was about half an hour after he this deponent left the island and he said Potter was then about five miles from Bristol. That there were eleven men in said boat and Potter was in the sternsheets. That the weather was cloudy. That when Potter hailed him they were about fifteen rods distance, the first words Potter spoke was by asking who was in that boat; the deponent answered he was there; Potter told him to come that way, he wanted to speak to him, upon which he went to him and Potter told him he wanted this deponent to go up with him about a mile, that he would be back in an hour. This deponent said he could not, he was in a hurry to go home, to which Potter replied he must go with him. The deponent answered he could not, he must go home or his master would punish him and this deponent then began to row away. That after he began to row away Potter told him he wanted this deponent to go with him to fetch something down which this deponent has forgot, and that he would pay him for so doing. This deponent said he had rather go home for if his master should miss him he would say he was out all night and flog him, upon which Potter said there is no can't in the matter, you must go along with me, we shall be back in an hour; and further said give me your painter, you need not row, we will carry you up there, upon which this deponent gave them the painter. That he this deponent being in his own boat was towed up by Potter's boat till they came within half a mile of the schooner; Potter then said to this deponent get into my boat; that he got into the boat; Potter then told him they were going to burn the man-of-war schooner and that he this deponent must go with him, to which he replied that it was hard for him to be brought there where he might lose his life. Potter then said they were all upon their lives, this deponent still repeated it was hard for him [to] go but Potter said he must go now he was there, that they would give him a weapon, he must do as they did, knock them down and not let them kill him if he could help it, and gave him a handspike; the rest were armed, some with cutlasses, some with muskets. This happened about ten o'clock at night; Potter further told this deponent that they expected 16 or 17 more boats from Providence. In about an hour afterwards they met eight boats about half a mile from the schooner which appeared to be pretty full of people. Upon their meeting Potter and two men called Browns by the people, whom this deponent did not know, talked about how they should board the schooner; one of these persons called Brown got into Potter's boat on which they were hailed from the *Gaspee* and told to stand off, upon which Brown said row up. Immediately after, he the deponent saw the captain of the schooner come upon deck in his breeches and fired a pistol into one of the boats and wounded one of the men in the thigh. That he saw a man who was in the boat with Potter and who was called Brown fire a musket which wounded the captain after which there was no more firing but they instantly boarded the schooner.

Rhode Island

That the captain of the schooner when he was wounded he thinks stood by the foreshrouds upon the left-hand side; when they got on board there were about four of the schooner's men on deck and the rest were coming up out of the hold and somebody said Knock 'em down, kill them no matter what you do with them. That this deponent did not know the Browns nor hear them called by their Christian names, and further declares that it was John Brown shot the captain and that he hath never seen either of the Browns since. That after they got possession of the vessel they took the hands belonging to the schooner and threw them down the hold, and this happened about three o'clock in the morning. Then the people searched the vessel, took the captain's papers which he desired they would give him but they refused, tore them and threw them overboard, then they took the *Gaspee*'s people, tied their hands and put them into the boat and carried them ashore, this deponent going with them; by the time they got half way ashore the schooner was on fire. That before they went ashore a doctor whom they called Weeks from one of the boats dressed the captain's wounds. That when they had landed the people they untied their hands and let them go, and the captain of the schooner they carried up to a house; after they had landed the men they put off to return and Potter told him he would give him two dollars for what he had done which he accordingly did, upon which this deponent set off in his own boat and rowed home. That it was about four o'clock when they had landed the schooner's people, that it was a moonlight night but sometimes cloudy. That soon after the people had boarded the schooner they hoisted her topsails, her head laying up towards Providence and he saw nothing further done to her or her sails. That the schooner when they boarded her was aground. That the person who acted as surgeon he thinks he has seen at his master's house but is not sure it was the same person. This deponent further says that the person to whom he first gave an account of the above affair of burning the *Gaspee* was Capt. Lindzee of the *Beaver*; some time after the burning the schooner he went on board the *Beaver* in his master's said boat. That immediately upon his going on board they put him in irons because they imagined he intended to run away from his master, it was about ten o'clock at night when the deponent was put into irons and was released about ten o'clock the next day, and then they were going to flog him; after he was tied up to the mast one of the *Gaspee*'s men called Paddy Alis jumped up and told the captain that he thought he this deponent was one that was on board the schooner *Gaspee*; at this time the deponent had said nothing about the burning of the schooner nor had made no discovery relating to what he knew thereof; the captain asked the man if he was sure of it, he said yes. The captain asked what clothes he had on, the man said two frocks; then the captain told the man to examine what clothes he had which they found were two frocks, there was no mention made of any other clothes. The next day Paddy Alis and the deponent were called up before the captain who asked the said Paddy if he was sure that this deponent was one concerned in the attack of the schooner, he said yes. He further asked him if he could swear to it, he answered yes. That the captain then administered an oath to the said Paddy upon the Bible, who swore that this deponent was there; the captain then said to this deponent, My lad, you see this man has declared you was there, and if you don't tell

With respect to the party with Captain Holland and to obviate the difficulties which have been made to his keeping these men any longer, as the battalion is under the immediate command of the governor of the Leeward Islands, I shall follow your lordship's directions and provide for their subsistence out of the contingencies in North America. *Signed.* [C.O.5/90, fo. 198]

XCV

Daniel Blouin to Earl of Dartmouth

6 October, New York

My Lord, oppression determined me three years ago to apply here with Mr William Clajon to his Excellency General Gage for justice against Lieutenant-Colonel John Wilkins of His Majesty's eighteenth regiment of foot and late commandant of the Illinois country.

On the 9th of July 1771 we presented to his Excellency our respective charges which are as true as they are shocking, not only to a Briton but to anyone who has not lost every human feeling. The General condescended to promise that he would do us all the justice in his power and send our complaints to His Majesty's ministers.

We have vainly expected Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkins here, for he proceeded to London down the Mississippi after he had resigned the command of that country to Major Hamilton of the same regiment. By those means we have been debarred of the opportunity of proving the truth of our complaints and of obtaining that justice which we conceive to be due to us.

On the day before General Gage sailed thence for Europe we jointly gave him a memorial which he promised he would lay before your lordship, together with all the papers which I had delivered to him since my arrival relatively to the affairs of the Illinois country, the principal inhabitants of which have empowered me before my departure from that country to solicit as their agent the establishment of a civil government there.

General Gage has promised to support my application with his recommendation, and his conduct towards me leaves me no doubt of his having already done his utmost to promote the success of the prayer which the inhabitants have tendered to that effect to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Board of Trade and Plantations and which I have conveyed to their lordships since my arrival here.

But, my lord, that worthy General had scarcely departed from America when a secret enemy to his glory and the prosperity of Great Britain, foreseeing with envy the advantages which the nation must reap in case of a future war if she indiscriminately bestows all the blessings of liberty on every inhabitant of her new acquisitions, found means to cause the inhabitants of the Illinois to be assembled by the commanding officer there and presented with an anonymous writing [Vol. V, No. XXIX] which, they were told, came from that General and was a plan of the form of government which they were requested to solicit through his intercession.

In that sketch of government the whole legislative power is lodged in the hands of the Governor and his Council; no offence, murder only excepted, is to be punished with death, and the Governor is vested with the power of remitting that and every other penalty!

I have received but two days ago an authentic copy of that writing which Captain Lord, who is now the commanding officer in the Illinois country, gave to the inhabitants that they might consult amongst themselves what they were to resolve upon that subject. As the packet is to sail tomorrow it is not in my power now to transmit to your lordship an authentic copy of that piece for the success of which the respectable name of General Gage has been so insidiously and so scandalously abused. But at the same time it is my duty to declare to your lordship that as Captain Lord has acted so fairly it is believed by all that he is innocent; and that the inhabitants have unanimously rejected with abhorrence a plan of government so evidently contrary to that which they had applied for in their memorial to His Majesty's Board of Trade sent by me to their lordships.

I intend within a few days to apply to General Haldimand that his Excellency may trace out the author of that deceit.

I beseech your lordship speedily to send His Majesty's orders to the commander-in-chief relatively to the charge brought by Mr Clajon and myself against Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkins that we may be enabled to make it good. I join with the inhabitants of the Illinois country in imploring your lordship's intercession for the establishment of a civil government amongst them on British principles. And as His Majesty's appointment of your lordship to so important a trust as that of your department is shows his sense of your exalted merit, I beg you will believe that, with the just confidence you deserve, I shall ever be, my lord, your lordship's most humble, most obedient, most respectful and most devoted servant. *Signed.* [C.O.5/74, fo. 175]

XCVI

Abstract of Letter from Alexander Cameron to John Stuart[1]

11 October

On the 10th instant I arrived here from the Cherokee nation. On my journey there I met several of the traders in their way down who would persuade me to return as it was dangerous for me to proceed over the hills, having nothing there among the white people but war and rumours of war. But as my own judgement in that matter did not coincide with theirs it gave me no great concern. I told them at the same time that if the report was true my duty required my presence there more than at other times.

Upon my arrival at Toquah I sent for Vann the interpreter and the Wolf [of] Keowee who was at the meeting by my desire, but they could learn nothing of any bad intention the Indians have upon us. Old Mr Butler and Willanawaw's wife are persons that I can also confide in:

1 Enclosed in John Stuart's letter of 21 December 1773 to Dartmouth, below No. CXVIII.

they told me separately that upon the arrival of the Northwards who were 17 Delawares and 3 Shawnese the young men talked of joining them in war against the white people, but since the talks at Chote they have heard no such report and they believe it had no foundation from the first.

Oucconnastotah, as does all the principal warriors in that nation, deny their having intrigues with any nation of Indians whatever except for promoting and establishing a firm peace with all the tribes whom they are at war with. The Great Warrior denies knowing anything about the bad belt from the Senecas although he says there might have been such a thing, as the Cold Weather of Chilhowie had always private talks with all the Northward Indians who came into that nation, and does not doubt as the Cold Weather was a bad man but he might give and receive bad talks from the Northwards. Thus much he never owned before the Cold Weather was killed; and although he was one of his first councillors he says little in his praise now. The Creeks in particular would willingly sow discord between you and the Cherokees, as Oucconnastotah himself observes, for they can have no other motive for saying that they had bad talks from them. He says that they sent them a belt by desire of the Northwards to maintain and strengthen the peace between them.

Oucconnastotah has not only a vast sway with his own people but with other tribes; but if he has other intentions (besides that of establishing a firm peace with all nations of Indians and maintaining a lasting friendship with us) I can never dive into them nor any other person that I have employed.

The murther committed by the Second Man was undoubtedly an accident; he says that if it was otherwise he would not deny it for he would not be afraid to die. The Great Warrior desires that the white man who fell by the Second Man may be forgiven for the murther of one of the Indians on Broad River by Collins. The Cold Weather of Chilhowie lately killed an old woman in Settico. John Walker who trades there carried up some rum from Keowee and among others who drank of it the Cold Weather was one. He began to quarrel with Walker and his domestics, upon which they turned him out of doors, but upon his finding a large billet of wood he returned to the house and seeing one of Walker's packhorsemen he put up the whoop. But Walker's mother-in-law (the only war woman and the greatest conjurer then living in the nation) hearing him, she went out to meet him and desired the packhorseman to retire into the house. She spoke to him and opposed his going in, on which he struck her and knocked her down, then repeated the blow and left her dead. Her daughter who was in the house set up the whoop, but before any person arrived the Cold Weather was gone. Her relations hunted two days for him in vain, at length they threatened all his friends which made them turn out for him, tracked him to Little River on his way to the northward: they shot and wounded him, took him and brought him into Chilhowie where he was immediately tomahawked, for which I was not sorry. The war woman was carried to the top of a hill, set upright and entombed with stones. She is much regretted by both white and red people in this nation.

I am now to inform you, sir, that the traders carry so much rum into the nation (with which they purchase stolen horses from the Indians,

exclusive of immediate quarrels and riots which ensue from their drinking it) that in a short time it will terminate in a war.

Richard Pearis has begun this trade and encourages white and red people in that nation to bring their horses to his market, which he no sooner buys than he sends them to Virginia. I am in hopes, sir, that you will represent those people to Sir James Wright that he may prevent their being employed as traders. I could prevent those evils if I was supported, but as I have no positive orders to enforce the old regulations and no others extant I can only represent the matter to you.

I was desired by Oucconnastotah and the other head warriors to inform you that it is their will and pleasure that Half-Breed George of Settico shall not be supplied with any more goods nor be allowed to trade any longer among them.

Agreeable to your orders I have warned Richard Pearis to be and appear at next Circuit Court at Ninety-Six. I have also sent to warn John Prince who was his clerk at the cession and Thomas Price who was his interpreter. James Jones the other interpreter will be there likewise. There can be no difficulty in proving the meeting and their purchasing of the land.

I have prevailed upon the Great Warrior to be at court to declare how artfully Pearis had imposed upon them when the first deed of gift was made to him and Jacob Hite at Chote of 150,000 acres of land. Jamie Brakham who was his interpreter will also be at court.

The Great Warrior was very glad when I told him that you would be at Ninety-Six and immediately agreed to come down and take you by the hand and open his breast to you. He will want a piece strouds, some shirts and calicos for his wife, a saddle and rum etc.

Your old friend the Little Carpenter is gone to war with a party of about 30 men. He left a string of whampum for you that in case he should fall to remember his two children which he left. He desired me to tell you that all his relations have been killed by the enemy, that he will take care that no white man will suffer by his party, but should any of them meet him in his way he will take care of them like brothers, that he shall hunt only for his enemy, the Yaughtinoos, Kickapoos, Piankeshaws or Twightwees, that you'll be surprised to hear of his going to war at this time of life but the rogues would not let his people live, that he hoped you would approve of his endeavours to get satisfaction. Another party is gone for Great Settico under the command of Tuckassie, the Great Warrior's son, and another fitting out from Toqueh under Yunegatchie, a bold and good young man, I have promised to get him a medal.

The Old Corn Tassel delivered me his medal with a speech to you: "I do not throw away this medal as it was given me by my father, but I send it to him and he will see by its being worn out that I am fond of it. His talks were always agreeable to me even when we were at war with the white people, and now if I should err or do anything bad it must be when I do not hear his talk or see his medal. If he thinks that I am deserving of one in the room of this, I shall accept of one from him if sent me." Chucunanteth of Chiywayah is dead and they brought the medal to me and I conferred it in your name on the Mankiller of Equonulifte now of Quanassie. It was a small one.

I am just informed by the Wolf who is here that last spring was twelve

CXVI

Governor Thomas Hutchinson to Earl of Dartmouth (No. 36)

17 December, Boston

My Lord, the owner of the ship *Dartmouth* which arrived with the first teas having been repeatedly called upon by what are called the committees of correspondence to send the ship to sea and refusing, a meeting of the people was called and the owner required to demand a clearance from the Custom-house which was refused, and then a permit from the Naval Office to pass the Castle which was also refused; after which he was required to apply to me for the permit and yesterday towards evening came to me at Milton and I soon satisfied him that no such permit would be granted until the vessel was regularly cleared. He returned to town after dark in the evening and reported to the meeting the answer I had given him. Immediately thereupon numbers of the people cried out, A mob, A mob, left the house, repaired to the wharves where three of the vessels lay aground having on board 340 chests of tea, and in two hours time it was wholly destroyed. The other vessel, Capt. Loring, was cast ashore upon the back of Cape Cod in a storm, and I am informed the tea is landed upon the beach and there is reason to fear what has been the fate of it. I sent expresses this morning before sunrise to summon a Council to meet me at Boston but by reason of the indisposition of three of them I could not make a quorum. I have ordered new summonses this afternoon for the Council to meet me at Milton tomorrow morning. What influence this violence and outrage may have I cannot determine, probably it may issue in a proclamation promising a reward for discovering the persons concerned which has been the usual proceeding in other instances of high-handed riots. A sufficient number of people for doing the work were disguised and these were surrounded by a vast body of people who generally, as is commonly reported, went from this meeting which it is said was more numerous than any before and consisted of the inhabitants of divers other towns as well as Boston, but in what proportion I have not been able to ascertain. The wind coming fair I do not expect to be able by this vessel to give your lordship a more particular account of this most unhappy affair. *Signed.* [C.O.5/763, fo. 23]

CXVII

Governor John Wentworth to Earl of Dartmouth (No. 53)

17 December, New Hampshire

May it please your Lordship, in obedience to His Majesty's instructions to transmit early intelligence of such occurrences as may happen in this province, I now beg leave to inform your lordship that on the 12th instant was posted a notification of the selectmen of Portsmouth, demanded according to law by sixteen inhabitants, convening a town-meeting to be held the 16th instant to consider on and adopt measures relative to the importation of tea chargeable with a duty according to Act of Parliament. Yesterday the town-meeting was held and passed the enclosed resolves [Vol. IV, No. 1658i], six gentlemen dissenting from the proceedings. It was utterly

impossible to prevent the people from these measures: the unwearied applications from Boston communicated the flame here which had before run through all the other colonies. Notwithstanding these proceedings, I have no doubt I shall be successful in preventing any attempts to raise mobs for carrying these resolves into execution. I think already the people begin to decline the matter. Indeed it is clearly evident that the town would have been prevailed on to continue quiet but for the pains taken (through Mr Livius) to spread reports and publications against the stability of the Governor and Council whose influence of course must be in some degree suspended during that delusion, but I hope will soon be perfectly restored. For I cannot but regret that anything should cause less authority in government here at a time that every aid and assistance is essential to preserve its efficacy.

It is my duty also to inform your lordship that Daniel Peirce Esq., a member of His Majesty's Council for this province, died the 4th instant. In addition to the gentlemen who already stand recommended as fit persons to succeed to any vacancies in the Council, I beg leave to recommend Amoni Richamah Cutter Esq. of Portsmouth in New Hampshire, being a gentleman every way qualified and eligible to be a Councillor of this province. He is an opulent freeholder of liberal education, considerable influence, unimpeachable probity and distinguished attachment to government, which will render him a very useful member if it shall please your lordship to prefer him to His Majesty's favour for a mandamus. *Signed.* [C.O.5/938, fo. 50]

CXVIII

John Stuart to Earl of Dartmouth (No. 15)

21 December, Charleston

My Lord, I had the honour of acquainting your lordship by my letter No. 13 [above, No. LXXXII] that I had directed Mr Cameron to proceed into the Cherokee nation as well upon account of the murther of two of their people by Hezekiah Collins as of the meeting of different tribes proposed to be at Chotah. After his return he wrote me a letter of which I have the honour to submit an abstract to your lordship [above, No. XCVI] which will convey some idea of the state of affairs in that country.

I also beg leave to submit to your lordship abstracts of Mr David Taitt's correspondence relative to the affairs of the Creek nation with copies of the Cherokee deputies' talks and that from Emestisiguo referred to by him [Vol. IV, Nos. 1666iii-v].

I think it will prove difficult to prevent the intercourse between the Creeks and Spaniards carried on by means of the fishing vessels which frequent the point of Florida from the Havannah any otherwise than by stationing a vessel of force at Pia Creek, which I humbly submit. This intercourse certainly furnishes the Spaniards with an opportunity of carrying any bad design they may have formed with respect to those Indians into execution, and will render the management of the Creek nation (one of the most turbulent upon the continent) more difficult and expensive.

The cause of Richard Pearis and Jacob Hite who had illegally obtained

cessions of, and seated themselves upon, Indian lands beyond the established boundary line came on before the Circuit Court at Ninety-Six last month when judgement was given against them and they relinquished all claim or title to any lands beyond the boundary in virtue of any deed or conveyance to them from the Indians, which I hope will have a good effect by deterring others from any such attempts in future. But I beg leave to observe to your lordship that this success is owing to the existence of a municipal law of this province; in provinces where no such local laws exist I should be very doubtful of success.

The Great Warrior of Chote attended the circuit, but as I could not possibly attend there also he came to Charleston to see me and we conversed together for several days. He is the supreme governor of his nation where his word is a law, which ascendancy is entirely owing to his personal bravery and other superior talents. He seemed much hurt that his nation should be suspected of joining in or encouraging any combination or confederacy against the white people. He said that he and his people retained the most grateful sense of the great benefit they received by the peace obtained from the Northern Indians under the mediation of their white brethren, by which they were freed from a war which threatened their existence. He gave me the strongest assurances of his immutable attachment to the British interest and that he had nothing in view but to form such a confederacy as may enable his people to force the western tribes into peace. I hope I have prevented his nation's taking any part in the war between the Choctaws and Creeks. I enquired of him what the Mortar's errand into his nation was; to which he answered that the Mortar was a bad man and had a very bad heart, that he began to give bad talks about the white people but that he stopped him short by telling him that he would not listen to his insinuations and that if he had no other business at Chote it was time for him to return home. The talks given by some of his nation in the Creek nation he laughed at, and said they had no authority to call themselves deputies; but he told me that there would be a very general meeting at Chote next summer.

I shall communicate to Sir James Wright what Mr Taitt points out respecting the traders, and I am convinced that he will give every assistance in his power to remedy such evils. *Signed.* [C.O.5/75, fo. 6]

CXIX

Governor Josiah Martin to Earl of Dartmouth (No. 19)

24 December, New Bern

My Lord, my letter of the 16th instant [above, No. CXV] will have prepared your lordship to expect no beneficial result of the then session of the General Assembly of this province, and it is a matter of inexpressible concern to me that I must now inform your lordship its conclusion but too exactly corresponded with my forebodings.

The spirit of discontent that discovered itself in the first proceedings of the House of Assembly still appearing in its renunciation of the regulations proposed by government concerning attachments and the adoption of the rules relative to that mode of proceeding in the bill for constituting

Superior Courts (that had now passed the Assembly three times) which had been considered by your lordship inadmissible in the Act passed at the last session under a suspending clause, and the consequent failure of this bill in the Council putting an end to all hopes of the present establishment of courts of justice upon any plan in which I was at liberty to concur, I considered it the proper season to bring the session to a period by prorogation not only as no laws that could be framed would be essential while no mode of administering them was established, and that a prolongation of it would enhance the public expense to no purpose, but as the most gentle means to prevent the Assembly entering into further measures more offensive to government than any yet taken, which might be apprehended from the present temper of that House and which it was to be feared would tend to the disparagement of the reputation, if not to the detriment of the interests, of this people by disposing His Majesty to listen the less graciously to any solicitations of their representatives on the point for which they were contending.

It is my duty to inform your lordship that there was depending at the time of the prorogation a bill for the establishment of Inferior Courts in the several counties of this province, and I have some reason to believe it would have passed the Council by a majority of one voice. The interest that the House of Assembly, composed of magistrates and clerks of those courts, had in this bill, which was calculated to throw into their hands all the power of the laws while no superior jurisdiction was erected, would have induced that House it may be presumed to prune it of those parts that should appear inadmissible to the Council. But as the allowance of an appeal to a Superior Court was indispensable and a regulation that could not be omitted, although it was perfectly useless if not absurd while no court of appeal existed because it would have been to declare the determination of these courts final to the extent of their jurisdiction, contrary expressly to His Majesty's instructions, that as their power virtually became unlimited for want of the superior comptrolling jurisdiction to which appeals might be made and that the notorious corruption and abuses in those little courts convinced me they would on such a footing become nuisances of the most grievous and oppressive nature, I thought it contrary to every idea of good policy to establish them alone; and I was the more confirmed in this belief when I found many of the most judicious people of this country concurred with me in opinion that the members of the Assembly acting upon uniform principles would hereafter unwillingly relinquish the sole power of administering the laws with which they found themselves and their fellow-justices invested, and hardly be prevailed upon to consent to the establishment of courts of higher dignity and jurisdiction that would review, regulate, restrain, censure and condemn their proceedings. The many who favoured the establishment of these courts alone reasoned differently. They alleged that as the suits brought in them would be suspended by appeals upon which no decisions could be made, their incompetency would be soon discovered and must necessarily induce the erection of Superior Courts; that besides, sheriffs, constables and other officers useful and necessary to the community might be appointed, the taxes might be collected, and as far as their power extended justice would be administered. To these arguments I answered that it was well known

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desire their people to keep at home and not to go near the settlements for fear of any accident happening by any of the mobs. They promised to do all in their power to keep their people quiet until they should see how matters would turn out but they seemed exasperated at the Virginians (as they call all the northward people) for stopping their ammunition and fighting against the Great King's people. They told me that if ammunition could be got soon things might remain quiet among them, but if they could not be supplied they could not answer for what their young people might do. I went to the Lower Creek towns and talked to some of the principal chiefs there and begged them to wait patiently for about two months as I was sure that in that time they might have a supply of ammunition from St Augustine, and an Indian lately arrived from that place assured them that the vessel with ammunition was safely arrived there before he came away and likewise acquainted them that he had seen you there. But by some traders that arrived yesterday at this place I am informed that the ammunition is seized at Savannah; if so, God have mercy on them, for I am afraid it will be out of my power to save them. I am just now informed that the Carolina Committee have appointed George Galphin, Leroy Hammond, and David Zubly superintendents of Indian affairs among the Creeks, and three others for the Cherokees, for which reason I have summoned all the chiefs of the Upper Creeks to meet here the 8th inst. and will do everything in my power to preserve peace here. I have already sent to Mobille to purchase about 400 lbs of powder on account of the merchants at Augusta; should that fail I mean to apply to Mr Stuart to borrow some from Governor Chester and likewise some goods on your account as I shall be much in want of a supply, the road to Augusta not being safe. I suspect there have been some private talks sent to the Lower Creeks by some of the newmade superintendents as there seems a coolness among the headmen to me not usual among them, and that villain Sympiaffe refused to come to the meeting. The Pompkin King observed their cool behaviour but could not tell the reason of it.

Escochabee is come home but brings no talks from the Spaniards, at least has not yet told any and says that he got no presents from them. The chiefs seem to laugh very much at him.

I expect an express every day to let me know the fate of the powder, and should it be entirely kept from these people they will certainly go in a body to demand it and a refusal will most certainly prove the ruin of Georgia. At present there is great murmuring about it, and if they can only get a supply of that article I believe they will remain neuter.

Most of the traders except Gaulphin's are come up with goods but not a pound of powder with any of them. I only came here this forenoon from the Lower Creeks and mean to send Emistisiguo down to them as soon as the meeting is over here on purpose to sound them as Thomas is not in the nation at present. *Copy*. [C.O.5/76, fo. 177]

XXIX

Earl of Dartmouth to Lieut.-General Thomas Gage (Separate)

2 August, Whitehall

Sir, it being His Majesty's intention that we should have if possible in North America early in the next spring an army of at least twenty thousand men,

exclusive of Canadians and Indians, the proper steps are now taking for such arrangements as may be necessary to this object, and I have this day signified His Majesty's commands that the 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 14th, 16th, 22nd, 23rd, 26th, 35th, 38th, 40th, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 47th, 49th, 52nd, 63rd, 64th and 65th regiments be augmented so as that each company shall consist of three serjeants, three corporals, two drummers and fifty-six private men, besides commissioned officers, and that each of the abovementioned 22 battalions be augmented with two companies each to consist of one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, three serjeants, three corporals, two drummers and fifty-six private men.

With regard to the 18th and 59th regiments His Majesty thinks fit upon a consideration of their weak state that what remains of the private men fit for service should be incorporated into other regiments and the officers and non-commissioned officers sent home to recruit, and that it should be left to your discretion to follow the same rule in the case of any other regiments under the like circumstances.

Besides 4 companies of artillery which are ordered to embark immediately in order to enable you to return to the line the men taken from thence for that service, it is resolved to send you directly a further reinforcement of 2,000 men and orders are given for the 17th and 55th regiments in Ireland to prepare for embarkation, the remainder of the reinforcement to be made up by recruits which we hope to raise in time. But if when the transports are ready the number of recruits should fall short, in that case the 27th, 28th and 46th regiments will be ordered to embark or such part of them as shall be necessary to make up the full complement of 2,000 men.

The steps which you say the rebels have taken for calling in the assistance of the Indians leave no room to hesitate upon the propriety of our pursuing the same measure; for that purpose I enclose to you a letter to Colonel Johnson [above, No. XXI] containing His Majesty's commands for engaging a body of Indians, and shall by the first ship of war that sails after the *Cerberus* send you a large assortment of goods for presents which you will contrive the means of safely conveying to the colonel.

I wish, sir, to state to you with as much precision as I am able the ideas that have been formed with respect to the future plan of operations of our forces in North America; for although your own knowledge and experience, aided by the advice and opinion of the able generals who assist you, will be far better guides to your judgment than anything I can suggest, yet it may not be altogether useless to mark out (however incorrectly) some of the ideas of military men of knowledge and ability here and which indeed very much correspond with what seems to be your opinion and that of the other officers with you.

I have already said in my letter No. 22 of this day's date [Vol. X, No. 165] that in the general view we have of the state of the army at Boston and of the force of the rebels it does not seem likely that any further operations at least of any extent will be undertaken this campaign. The state of the service therefore as it stands at present seems to involve, in the consideration of it, these questions vizt.

1st. Whether we should push the war with our whole force in the next campaign on the side of New England?

2nd. Whether, viewing the whole state of America, it would not be more

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nothing but real zeal for the King's service could engage him to remain with us in our present situation, equally critical and disagreeable.

I am concerned it was not in our power to forward the hay and fresh stock that had been provided; we are likely to want ourselves. *Signed*. [C.O.5/92, fo. 360]

XCIX

Intelligence from Alexander Cameron[1]

8 November

Intelligence contained in Mr Cameron's letter of 8th November. William Henry Drayton, accompanied by two Independent parsons, Hart and Tenant, made a tour through the interior and back parts of Carolina and Georgia, haranguing the people and exciting them to rebellion by enumerating a long list of pretended grievances and representing the Acts of Parliament respecting Boston as cruel, tyrannical and oppressive, by which means they seduced a great many people. Mr Drayton authorized Richard Pearis to give and receive talks from the Indians, to use his influence to get Mr Cameron killed or taken prisoner, in which he failed of success although he tried every means in his power to effect it, first by endeavouring to raise a sufficient body of men, and when he could not get a sufficient number he then offered a considerable reward to any single person who would shoot him from behind a bush, then mount his horse and escape into the settlements. Pearis was at the same time writing Mr Cameron privately to be on his guard against the designs of some of the frontier inhabitants upon his life.

Mr Drayton sent Pearis with a talk into the nation (of which I send a copy herewith [Vol. X, No. 778iii]) who delivered it to the Indians and prevailed upon Eccuy or the Good Warrior and three more Indians to go with him to visit Mr Drayton at the Congarees. These Cherokees were told by Mr Drayton that Mr Cameron was a very bad man and spoke with two tongues, that the white people were determined to drive him out of the Cherokee nation, and that if the Cherokees attempted to protect him they would involve themselves in a war by which the lives of their women and children would be exposed, and that for a person who could not now be of the least service to them whatever he might tell them to the contrary. Eccuy seemed to approve of what Mr Drayton said and promised not to protect Mr Cameron, but upon his return home, being severely reprimanded by the headmen for listening to Mr Drayton or Pearis's talks, denied that he had made any such promise.

Richard Pearis was to have delivered Mr Drayton's talk to the Indians on the 9th of October and the Indians met accordingly at Sugar Town to hear it; but as Pearis had been taken sick they were disappointed. But on the 10th his son, George Pearis, with one Dutarque, an officer, and a party of rangers, met the Indians. Mr Cameron took care to be present where Mr Edward Wilkinson was also. Eccuy first addressed the Indians, said he had been told by Mr Drayton that the Great King was going to make the white people pay much more for their goods than usual and that of course the

1 Enclosed in John Stuart's letter to Dartmouth, 8 January 1776, Vol. X, No. 778.

Indians would be obliged to pay two pounds of leather for what formerly they could buy for one pound etc., but as Pearis was sick and could not attend he desired them to go over to his house where they would hear Mr Drayton's talk explained. Mr Cameron then reminded them of Mr Pearis's behaviour upon many occasions when by lies and forgeries he had imposed upon them and defrauded them of their land, in doing which he, Pearis, had not been singular as the same had been practiced by many of the frontier inhabitants, and had it not been for the line run and marked by order of the King they would not have had a foot of land left them at this day, and then they would have been obliged to serve as slaves; that they seemed to have forgot how much trouble and expense it had cost their father the Superintendent to recover a part of their land of which they had been defrauded by the same Pearis, that lying rogue who now wanted to talk to them; that they could not suppose he would tell them truth as he never knew it; that the people by the waterside wanted them to take up the hatchet against their Great Father the King who had supported them time out of mind and would always do so while they behaved properly and listened to his talks. Upon which a chief named Keanitah made a manly speech, desired that they would pay no attention to Pearis, who was a rogue and a devil and could never speak truth. This he desired his son, George Pearis, tell him: that Scotchie (Mr Cameron) had been appointed by their father the Superintendent to take care of them, that he never had deceived them, that they would hold him fast and protect him notwithstanding the anger of the white people. He was seconded by another chief, upon which all the Indians went away and left Eccuy, young Pearis with the officer and his detachment, by themselves in the town house. Some Indians went a few days afterwards to Pearis's house in hopes of getting some ammunition which had been promised them, but they returned without any and much disappointed.

On the 12th September 4 Senecka Indians were fired upon about break of day near the Buffaloe Lick on the new ceded lands in Georgia. One of them was killed and two wounded; the 4th, who was not hurt, named The Raven, set up the war-hoop and the wounded men stood to their arms, upon which the white people ran off. This murther was perpetrated by three brothers named Cloud, for which they have since been committed to prison in Georgia. The Indians were much exasperated at this piece of treachery and were with difficulty restrained by their chiefs from taking immediate satisfaction of the traders, and Mr Cameron thinks they will not pass it over. What adds greatly to the discontent of the Cherokees is their being disappointed by the Carolinians who promised them 2000 pounds of gunpowder of what they had seized off of this place and at Georgia. The ammunition had actually been sent, but the escort was beaten and all of it taken away by Mr Richard Cuningham who is at the head of a party in support of government.

Colonel Fletchall of the militia, having put himself at the head of 1500 men, in August last declared for government. William Henry Drayton assembled about 2000 men at Ninety Six and sent a manifest to Fletchall's camp proposing an accommodation, which his want of ammunition induced him to accept of. But his assistant, Lieut.-Colonel Robert Cuningham, stood out and was followed by most of the men, but about the first of November he was surprised in his own house and made prisoner. His brother Richard went with a party to rescue his brother but took a wrong

road, he missed his brother but took the ammunition abovementioned. The rebels are collecting all their force to attack Cuningham.

In October some of the principal Cherokee chiefs went to Augusta in Georgia to get a supply of ammunition. After staying there about two weeks they got about 600 lbs powder and ball in proportion, with which they returned. They all got sick of a fever which at that time raged in Georgia. One of our best friends, Skalalusky of Toqua, died much lamented by Mr Cameron. *Copy*. [C.O.5/77, fo. 81]

C

Lieut.-Governor H. T. Cramahé to Earl of Dartmouth

9 November, Quebec

My Lord, enclosed herewith your lordship will receive a copy of a letter wrote to General Gage by General Carleton in the month of February 1767 and another in February last [Vol. X, No. 487iv; Vol. IX, No. XVI]; they relate to the occurrences of the present times and show the judgment he had long since formed upon the subject.

The 2nd instant the very uncomfortable account was received that we had no succour to expect from Boston. Copies of a paragraph of General Howe's letter and of Admiral Graves's to him are herewith enclosed [Vol. X, No. 487i–ii], and annexed thereto a report [Vol. X, No. 487xii] of the arrivals of shipping at the port of Quebec in the month of November since the establishment of the Custom-house in the year 1760. Two ships arrived so late as the 24th of November.

Though General Gage did not seem to believe it, a body of men are certainly arrived by the way of the Chaudiere and their advance-guard is actually at Point Levi. For the defence of the town we have only about fourscore recruits of Colonel Maclean's corps just arrived from St John's, Irish fishermen unacquainted with the use of arms, and about five and thirty marines landed out of the *Lizard*; the rest are militia with difficulty brought to mount guard and consequently not much to be depended on.

The rebels are now upon the north shore of the St Lawrence, have cut off the communication by land with Montreal, stopped the post and seized some persons travelling down this way whom they since released; and the winds hanging to the eastward prevent the general's coming down by water if that is his intention. The rebels being in force have upon their side the Canadian peasants, whom neither the zealous exertions of the gentry, clergy or *bourgeoisie* could prevail upon to do their duty, and for want of a force we could neither awe or compel them to it; two battalions in the spring might have saved the province, I doubt whether twenty would regain it.

From the peculiar situation of things we are obliged to send home the rebel prisoners, having no proper gaols to confine them in or troops to guard them. A list of them is herewith transmitted [Vol. X, No. 487xi], and the master having insisted upon it as a condition without which he would not take them on board I have been obliged to write a requisitorial letter to any of the officers commanding the King's ships or forts upon the coast to receive them until further directions could be given therein. Copies of some affidavits in regard to Mr Walker and of two intercepted letters, upon which I took up Mr Mercier of this town, are likewise enclosed [Vol. X, No. 487vii–x].

Should a large force be sent out to this country next spring Mr Brook Watson, with whom I have conversed upon the subject and who knows the country, can give the King's servants several useful hints which the shortness of time and the hurry and confusion attending this near approach of the enemy prevent my committing to writing. *Signed*. [C.O.42/34, fo. 229]

CI

Governor William Tryon to Earl of Dartmouth (No. 16)

11 November, *Duchess of Gordon*, New York Harbour

My Lord, since the 30th of last month I have been on board the ship *Duchess of Gordon* under the protection of the *Asia* man-of-war with Mr Kempe, attorney-general, and Mr Barrow, deputy paymaster to His Majesty's forces. This measure, though expensive, was necessary as I could not have kept up any communication with the country had I gone on board the *Asia* man-of-war, whereas in my present situation the friends of government freely come to me; and I believe my removal has brought many to a deeper reflection of their daily and increasing distress than while I remained among them, when they considered me as a pledge for the redemption of any principal rebel that might fall into the hands of the King's forces. It is certain that within this fortnight the spirit of rebellion in this province, especially in the city, has greatly abated and we wait now only for five thousand regulars to open our commerce and restore our valuable constitution. The counties of Westchester, Dutchess, King, Queen and Richmond have the bulk of their inhabitants well-affected to government and some friends in all the other counties. They call for protection as the enemies to government are daily insulting and disarming them, and succours from Connecticut have very lately made new incursions into Westchester for that wicked purpose. If we have no aid for the friends of government to associate under this winter I dread the impending consequences to those who are friendly to government and remain unprotected. The sword, my lord, is drawn and it is that must now establish a constitution. Yet could it be compatible with the dignity and justice of the British sovereignty to give explicit satisfaction to America that the principle of internal taxation in America should not be exercised by the British state until a plan was agreed upon for the representation of America or other accommodation, the general confederacy would in my opinion speedily if not immediately unravel and bodies even of the enemies to government stand forth with its present friends to suppress those who should then continue in rebellion. I am confident one thousand regulars here with such an olive branch would be equal to five in the present state of the contest. Not but that I have expectations of the General Congress settling before the spring a quota for each province, with instructions to the delegates of the respective provinces to communicate the said quota to the General Assemblies of their provinces, that the offer of support for the general purposes of the state may be made constitutionally to Great Britain through the General Assemblies. This doctrine I have inculcated and every other that I thought could promote the restoration of the authority of His Majesty's government. *Signed*. [C.O.5/1106, fo. 335]

iii. South Carolina, 21 August 1775. Talk by William Henry Drayton to Cherokees. Mr Cameron has not given right talk. We want to be friends with Cherokees. *Copy.* 2 pp.

iv. South Carolina Congress, 26 September 1775. Same to Alexander Cameron, requesting removal to safe distance from Cherokees. You cannot disobey with safety to your person. *Copy.* 2½ pp.

v. Keowee, 16 October 1775. Alexander Cameron to W. H. Drayton, refusing to move. *Copy.* 2½ pp.

vi. Charleston, 29 October 1775. Henry Laurens to Edward Wilkinson. You are to eradicate doctrine impressed by Cameron on Indians that we have sought their lands. We do not believe in Cameron's pretended neutrality. *Copy.* 1¾ pp.

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* vii. Intelligence in Mr Cameron's letter of 8 November 1775. W. H. Drayton excited frontier inhabitants of Georgia and South Carolina to rebellion and authorized Richard Pearis to have Cameron killed or taken prisoner. On 10 October Cameron was present when George Pearis met Cherokees. He denounced Richard Pearis for fraudulent dealings in land. On 12 September one Indian was killed and two wounded on frontier of Georgia. Colonel Fletchall declared for government but was induced to accept an accommodation with Drayton. Robert Cunningham stood out with most of the men. *Copy.* 5¼ pp.

viii. Speech by chiefs of Cherokee Lower Towns to party setting off to East Florida. *Copy.* 2 pp.

ix. Keowee, 9 November 1775. Alexander Cameron to John Stuart. I hope that Indians may not be involved in dispute between Great Britain and colonies. They would be uncontrollable. I could not lead them against friends and fellow-subjects, especially women and children. *Copy.* 2¼ pp. [C.O.5, 77, fos. 67–88d; entry of covering letter in C.O.5, 229, pp. 127–130]

779 *9 January, Brunswick*
Treaty between King of Great Britain and Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg for furnishing of troops. *French. Copy. Signatories*, William Faucett, J. B. von Feronce. 9 pp. *Enclosed:*

i. Schedules of troops to be furnished. Total, 4300 men. *French. Copy.* 6 pp.

ii. Brunswick, 9 January 1776. Note concerning payment for said troops. *French. Copy. Signatories*, as covering document. 1 p.

iii. Note of number of men for whom payment is to be made. Total, 4084. *French. Copy.* 3½ pp.

iv. Brunswick, 9 January 1776. Further note concerning payment of said troops. *French. Copy. Signatories*, as covering document. 1½ pp. [C.O.5, 139, fos. 44–58d]

780 *9 January*
Memorial of Daniel Shaw, late captain, 62nd regiment, to Lord George Germain, soliciting appointment. *Signed.* 2 small pp. [C.O.5, 115, fos. 161–162d]

781 *9 January, Admiralty*
George Jackson to John Pownall, requesting further information on matters contained in memorandum of 7 January [No. 773i]. *Signed.* 1½ pp. *Endorsed*, R, same day. [C.O.5, 123, fos. 77–78d; entry in C.O.5, 259, pp. 5–6]

782 *9 January, Tower*
John Boddington to John Pownall. In reply to letter of 7 January, there will be difficulty about wagons. *Signed.* 1 small p. *Endorsed*, R, same day. [C.O.5, 162, fos. 11–12d; entry in C.O.5, 256, p. 3]

783 *9 January, G.P.O.*
Anthony Todd to John Pownall, enclosing following. There are packet-boats ready at Falmouth. *Signed.* 1 p. *Endorsed*, R, same day. *Enclosed:*

i. G.P.O., New York, 7 December 1775. John Foxcroft to Anthony Todd. Four armed ships are fitted out at Philadelphia. Committee there seek to shut up post office here. *Copy.* 1¼ small pp.

ii. New York, 6 December 1775. Extract of letter from same to same. All presses in favour of government are shut up, including Rivington's. Quebec is reported taken by rebels. Lord Dunmore has offered freedom to slaves who repair to King's standard. *Copy.* 1½ small pp.

iii. *Rivington's New York Gazetteer*, 23 November 1775. *Printed.* 4 pp. [C.O.5, 135, fos. 74–80d; entry of covering letter in C.O.5, 248, p. 217]

784 *10 January, Admiralty*
Lords of Admiralty to Lord George Germain. Vice-Admiral Graves was ordered on 14 October to station ships at Bermuda and New Providence. *Signed*, Sandwich, J. Buller, H. Palliser. 1 p. *Endorsed*, R, same day. [C.O.5, 123, fos. 79–80d; entry in C.O.5, 259, pp. 7–8]

785 *10 January, Boston*
Memorial of Crean Brush of New York to Lord George Germain, proposing to raise body of volunteers for operations in lands west of Connecticut River. *Signed.* 3 pp. *Endorsed*, R, 22 March. [C.O.5, 115, fos. 187–188d]

786 *10 January*
Memorial of Francis Waldo, Collector and Surveyor of Customs at Falmouth, Mass., to Lords of Treasury, stating loss by burning of Falmouth on 18 October last and non-payment of salary. Prays relief. *Signed.* 1½ pp. *Endorsed*, R, 14 March. [C.O.5, 115, fos. 96–97d; copy, with state of Mr Waldo's title to Nova Scotia, at fos. 98–101d]

787 *10 January, Treasury*
John Robinson to John Pownall, enclosing following which concern ships for expedition to Quebec. *Signed.* 1½ pp. *Endorsed*, R, 12th. *Enclosed:*

i. 28 December 1775. R. Atkinson to [John Robinson], reporting on ships and masters in trade to Quebec. Six of them, of 1140 tons, are available. *Copy.* 3 pp.

ii. London, 30 December 1775. Same to [same], on same subject. *Copy.* 4 pp.

iii. London, 30 December 1775. Agreement between Robert Hunter and Messrs Mure & Atkinson for hire of three ships at 10s. per ton per month. *Copy.* 1¼ pp. [C.O.5, 147, fos. 5–12d; another copy of No. i at fos. 15–16d

Philip Stephens, reporting taking by H.M.S. *Fowey* of armed brig *Washington* off Cape Ann. I have sent home crew, except two deserters and two Englishmen. Directions requested. *Copy.* 2 pp.

ii. In Congress, 1 July 1775. Commission to Sion Martindale to be captain in 15th regiment. *Copy.* 1½ pp.

iii. Cambridge, 8 October 1775. Instructions by General George Washington to Captain Martindale, commander of brig *Washington*. *Copy.* 3 pp. [C.O.5, 123, fos. 64–71d; entry of covering letter in C.O.5, 259, pp. 2–3]

769 *6 January*, Duchess of Gordon, *Murray's Wharf, New York*
Governor William Tryon to Earl of Dartmouth (Private), enclosing following. *Signed.* 1½ pp. *Endorsed*, R, 17 February. *Enclosed:*

i. New York, 17 December 1775. William Smith to Governor Tryon, regretting governor's intention to leave province, hoping for reconciliation with Britain, and suggesting dissolution of Assembly and election of new one. *Signed.* 3 pp. [C.O.5, 1107, fos. 141–144d; entry of covering letter in C.O.5, 1139, p. 324]

770 *6 January, St Augustine*
John Stuart to Earl of Dartmouth (No. 33). Mediation in war between Upper Creeks and Choctaws is essential if former are to act against rebels. Congress's superintendents have called meeting of Cherokees at Fort Charlotte and of Creeks at Augusta. *Signed.* 2 pp. *Endorsed*, R, 3 June. *Enclosed:*

i. Savannah, 4 December 1775. Governor Sir James Wright to John Stuart, notifying meetings with Indians called by Congress's superintendents. *Copy.* 1¼ pp.

ii. Savannah, 16 November 1775. Same to same, reporting attempt by some Creeks to get Houmahta pardoned. *Copy.* 1¼ pp.

iii. Little Tallassie, 20 October 1775. David Taitt to [John Stuart]. Indian report was that Spaniards had attacked St Augustine. Mediation in Creek-Choctaw war is necessary. *Copy.* 2¼ pp.

iv. Same, same date. Talk by Niaha Thlaco to John Stuart, asking for mediation in Choctaw war. *Copy.* 1½ pp. [C.O.5, 77, fos. 40–49d; entry of covering letter in C.O.5, 229, pp. 125–126]

771 *6 January, Pulteney Street, London*
Colonel William Roy to John Pownall, enclosing following. ½ small p. *Endorsed*, R, 6th. *Enclosed:*

i. Estimate of wagons and necessaries, blankets and watchcoats, required for British regiments in North America. 2½ pp. [C.O.5, 162, fos. 5–7d; entry of covering letter in C.O.5, 248, p. 217]

772 *7 January, Whitehall*
John Pownall to John Robinson. Troops and people at Boston may be short of provisions and fuel. There will probably be 38,000 troops in North America this year. At least 1000 horses will be needed, also 52,000 blankets and 4200 watchcoats. *Draft.* 2¾ pp. [C.O.5, 147, fos. 3–4d; entry in C.O.5, 250, pp. 310–311]

773 *7 January, Whitehall*
Same to Sir Hugh Palliser, enclosing following for private information. Official directions will follow. *Draft.* ½ p. *Enclosed:*

i. Memorandum of what will be necessary in Admiralty department respecting relief of Quebec; provision of frames of sloops and bateaux for Lake Champlain, with artificers; ships for five embarkations at end of March. *Copy.* 1¼ pp. [C.O.5, 123, fos. 72–74d; entry in C.O.5, 254, p. 5]

774 *7 January, Whitehall*
Same to John Boddington, sending memorandum of engineer's stores, horses, wagons, and artillery required for North America. *Draft.* 3¼ pp. [C.O.5, 162, fos. 8–10d; entry in C.O.5, 261, pp. 1–2]

775 *8 January, Admiralty*
Lords of Admiralty to Lord George Germain. Directions have been given that crews of transports at Boston shall be completed. *Signed*, Sandwich, J. Buller, H. Palliser. 1½ pp. *Endorsed*, R, 10th. [C.O.5, 123, fos. 75–76d; entry in C.O.5, 259, pp. 6–7]

776 *8 January, Perth Amboy*
Governor William Franklin to Earl of Dartmouth (No. 33). My dispatch of yesterday was seized by Lord Stirling. His troops came last night to stop me escaping. I expect to be made prisoner. Mr Skinner has escaped. Nothing will affect my loyalty. *Signed.* 2½ pp. *Endorsed*, R, 8 February. [C.O.5, 993, fos. 52–53d]

777 *8 January*, Duchess of Gordon, [*off New York*]
Governor William Tryon to Earl of Dartmouth, by Mons. L'Orcatte. Tears of joy flowed on my perusal of H.M.'s speech. Attorney-General Skinner of New Jersey has fled to King's ship; I shall invite him here. *Signed.* 3 small pp. *Endorsed*, R, 17 February. *Enclosed:*

i. 9 January 1776. Memorandum for Earl of Dartmouth. Royal standards are needed. Privateers on behalf of government could be fitted out from New York when it is in possession of King's troops. 1½ small pp. [C.O.5, 1107, fos. 147–150d; entry of covering letter in C.O.5, 1139, pp. 323–324]

778 *8 January, St Augustine*
John Stuart to Earl of Dartmouth (No. 34). Cherokees, under Mr Cameron's influence, are firmly attached to H.M. Commissioners appointed by Continental Congress are ordered to seize Superintendents and deputies. Our agents need assistants. *Signed.* PS. 11 January. Cherokees have arrived. Mr Hamilton reports that Cunningham's party has increased to 2500 and has taken 40 prisoners including Richard Pearis. *Signed.* 3 pp. *Endorsed*, R, 3 June. *Enclosed:*

i. Charleston, 27 June 1775. John Lewis Gervais to Alexander Cameron, reproaching him for scheming to bring Cherokees down upon South Carolina. Resign and live admired. *Copy.* 1½ pp.

ii. Keowee, 21 July 1775. Alexander Cameron to John Stuart. Charges against you in South Carolina were false. I did not divulge contents of your letter though there was nothing in it to hide. Indians rejoiced at your escape and took up arms on news of party coming from South Carolina to kill or take me prisoner. *Copy.* 2¾ pp.

Documents of the American Revolution Vol XIII (1777-8)

1627 *12 April, Whitehall*
Same to Commissioners for Quieting Disorders, sending copy of memorial of Sir Robert Herries. Give every facility to his agents to fulfil obligations to supply tobacco to French farmer-general. *Draft*. 1¼ pp. [C.O.5,180, fos. 29-30d; entry in C.O.5,242, pp. 222-223]

1628 *12 April, Whitehall*
* Same to General Sir Henry Clinton (No. 4). Treaty between France and rebels appears to have been made without participation of Spain. I hope Americans will prefer renewal of British connection on advantageous terms to French alliance. *Draft*. 2¼ pp. [C.O.5,95, fos. 110-111d; entry in C.O.5,243, pp. 245-246]

1629 *12 April, Whitehall*
Same to same (No. 5). Lord Cornwallis returns to America on *Trident* but may have leave in case of cessation of arms. *Draft*. 1 p. [C.O.5,95, fos. 112-113d; entry in C.O.5,243, p. 246]

1630 *12 April, Whitehall*
Same to same (Private), recommending Captain Barrett, aide-de-camp to Governor Browne of Bahamas. *Entry*. ¾ p. [C.O.5,243, p. 249]

1631 *12 April, Whitehall*
Same to Lieut.-General Earl Cornwallis, sending dormant commission with rank of general in America, to take place only in event of accident to Sir H. Clinton. *Draft*. ¾ p. [C.O.5,96, fos. 225-226d; entry in C.O.5,243, pp. 246-247]

1632 *13 April, Whitehall*
Commissioners for Trade and Plantations to the King, enclosing following. No material difference from instructions to late governor, except in 1st and 10th articles for greater precision, and addition of 16th article which is new. *Entry*. *Signatories*, George Germain, Soame Jenyns, Robert Spencer, C.F. Greville, William Jolliffe, Thomas de Grey jnr. 2 pp. *Enclosed*:

i. Draft of instructions to Frederick Haldimand, governor of Quebec. *Entry*. 70 pp. [C.O.43,2, pp. 321-392]

1633 *13 April, Whitehall*
Lord George Germain to General Sir Henry Clinton (No. 6). Private accounts suggest you may have left America before receiving letter of 4 February. Sir W. Howe has been placed in commission for quieting disorders, but his powers will devolve on you with the command. *Draft*. 2 pp. [C.O.5,95, fos. 114-115d; entry in C.O.5,243, p. 248]

1634 *13 April, London*
Governor John Wentworth to Lord George Germain, sending memorial of his own case, and also memorial of gentleman who has risked his life and is now destitute. *Signed*. 1 p. [C.O.5,175, fos. 39-40d]

1635 *13 April, Pensacola*
* John Stuart to Lord George Germain (No. 23). Council of West Florida advised Governor Chester to put off calling Assembly till troubles on Mississippi had subsided. Small party under Lieutenant Pearis and Adam Chrystie went to Manchac and evicted rebels. I refused to let Captain Cameron go to Natchez, his party being too small: it is now doing duty at

Mobile. Choctaws have gone with Mr Bethune to help inhabitants on Mississippi. John McGillivray has raised a corps and marched to Chickasaws. Indians have harassed frontiers of Georgia this winter. *Signed*. 7 pp. *Endorsed*, R, 24 June. *Enclosed*:

i. Pensacola, 28 March 1778. John Stuart to Lieut.-Colonel McGillivray, authorizing him to collect Choctaws and Chickasaws and to lead them against rebels and in defence of Natchez. Bethune will co-operate. Captain Colbert should be sent to Chickasaws. Indian presents will be supplied to you. *Copy*. 3½ pp.

ii. Point Coupée, 1 March 1778. Letter to John (Donald) Campbell, reporting progress of Willing's party of rebels, which has plundered at Manchac and elsewhere. Natchez declared for United States almost to a man. *Copy*. 2 pp.

iii. Natchez, 21 February 1778. Terms of surrender by inhabitants to Captain James Willing. *Copy*. 2¾ pp.

iv. New Orleans, 5 March 1778. Donald Campbell to [John Stuart], reporting progress of Willing's party, which recruited at Natchez but is not now above two hundred. *Copy*. 1½ pp.

v. New Orleans, 5 March 1778. Alexander Ross to John Stuart, reporting arrival of Americans at Natchez. They have cleared English side of Mississippi of its inhabitants. They expect reinforcements and say they mean to have Pensacola. *Copy*. 2¼ pp.

vi. New Orleans, 8 March 1778. William Wilton to John Stuart. Americans have taken many Negroes and John Campbell's brig. *Copy*. 1½ pp.

vii. Pensacola, 19 March 1778. Sworn statement by Alexander McIntosh that rebels under James Willing have seized furs to value of 10-12,000 dollars belonging to Mons. Rubice(?) of Post St Vincent. *Copy*. 1 p.

viii. New Orleans, 20 March 1778. Donald Campbell to John Stuart. Chrystie has surprised rebels at Manchac but has retired. What induced sending so few men? Rebels continue to plunder. Spanish governor has given protection to all British who desired it. PS. Do not send copy of this letter back. Colonel Hutchins is now in custody for this reason. *Copy*. 1¼ pp.

ix. Mobile, 7 March 1778. Charles Stuart to John Stuart. I met Choctaws yesterday and they undertook to perform their promises. I am fitting out Bethune and shall direct him to get in touch with Chickasaws. *Copy*. 1¾ pp.

x. Mobile, 19 March 1778. Same to same. Bethune left on 13th. I need stores for many Indians here. There was information of privateer in Mobile Bay. I have requested assistance of traders in Six Towns. *Copy*. 1¾ pp.

xi. Mobile, 23 March 1778. Same to same. There is Indian report of rebel troops on Mississippi. I fear McIntosh has fallen into their hands. *Copy*. 2½ pp. [C.O.5,79, fos. 81-106d; entry of covering letter in C.O.5,229, pp. 352-363]

in West Florida. Were these works authorised? *Signed.* ½ p. *Endorsed*, R, same day. [C.O.5,150, fos. 41-42d; entry in C.O.5,258, pp. 90-91]

1469 *28 February, Fort Gage, Illinois*
Sieur de Rocheblave to Lord George Germain. Troops are needed to retain possession of this country and of Mississippi. *French. Signed.* 1 small p. *Endorsed*, R, 13 September. [C.O.42,38, fos. 151-152d; entry in C.O.43,14, pp. 82-83]

1470 *28 February, Treasury*
John Robinson to William Knox, requesting to know number of troops to be provisioned in North America and West Indies and where stationed. *Signed.* ½ p. *Endorsed*, R, 2 March. [C.O.5,150, fos. 43-44d; entry in C.O.5,258, pp. 91-92]

1471 *28 February, G.P.O.*
Anthony Todd to William Knox. *Thynne* packet has arrived from Jamaica and will be ready to sail for West Indies next Wednesday, as will *Eagle* for New York. *Signed.* 1 small p. *Endorsed*, R, same day. [C.O.5,136, fos. 91-92d]

1472 *2 March, Whitehall*
William Knox to Richard Cumberland, sending papers received concerning conduct of governor of St Vincent's. *Entry.* ½ p. [C.O.5,251, p. 145]

1473 *2 March, Whitehall*
Same to same, sending extract of letter received from Lord Macartney. *Entry.* ¼ p. [C.O.5,251, p. 146]

1474 *2 March, Whitehall*
Same to same, sending extract of letter received from Governor Morris. *Entry.* ¼ p. [C.O.5,251, p. 146]

1475 *3 March, Whitehall*
Same to Anthony Todd. Packets for West Indies and Philadelphia are to be detained till Monday for bills now depending in Parliament. *Entry.* ½ p. [C.O.5, 251, pp. 146-147]

1476 *3 March, G.P.O.*
Anthony Todd to William Knox. As West India and New York mail is to be detained until Monday for Parliamentary bills, it might as well be detained until Tuesday for benefit of merchants. Is packet to go to New York or Philadelphia first and are dispatches to be thrown overboard in emergency? *Signed.* 2 small pp. [C.O.5,136, fos. 93-94d]

1477 *3 March, Whitehall*
Commissioners for Trade and Plantations to Committee of Privy Council for Plantation Affairs, enclosing following. *Entry. Signatories*, Soame Jenyns, W. Jolliffe, William Eden, Thomas de Grey jnr. 1 p. *Enclosed*:

i. Draft of additional instruction for Governor John Montagu of Newfoundland to receive tenth part of metals, ores and minerals obtained under grant to John Agnew Sheuchan and associates. *Entry.* 2 pp. [C.O.195,10, pp. 352-354]

1478 [*3 March*]
Memorial of William Gerard de Brahm, surveyor-general, southern district of North America, to Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, praying for allowance until he can return to work. *Signed.* 1½ pp. *Endorsed*, Read 3 March 1778. *Enclosed*:

i. 27 February 1778. Lieut.-Governor William Bull to W.G. de Brahm, certifying that he refused oath of abjuration and was obliged to leave South Carolina, and that he was not on Sullivan's Island when it was attacked by H.M.'s troops. *Signed.* 1¼ small pp. [C.O.323,29, fos. 120-123d]

1479 *4 March, London*
Petition of William Hutchinson, Councillor of Dominica, to Lord George Germain, requesting extension of leave of absence. 1 p. [C.O.5,116, fo. 91, 91d]

1480 *5 March, Philadelphia*
* General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain (No. 87), acknowledging Nos. 22 and 23 and Mr Knox's of 11 December, with duplicates of former dispatches. It is reported here that 4000 rebels under Lafayette were to enter Canada. Rebel army at Valley Forge suffers from weather: arbitrary means are used to assemble more troops for spring. Murder of Shawnee Corn Stalk has aroused Indians and made back-settlements unsafe. I fear that Congress means to detain Burgoyne's troops. There are now two more Hessian maj.-generals than stipulated by treaty. *Signed.* 3½ pp. *Endorsed*, R, 26 April. [C.O.5,95, fos. 116-118d; entry in C.O.5,236, pp. 205-208]

1481 *5 March, Philadelphia*
Same to same (No. 88), enclosing following. Dr Nathaniel Perkins is destitute and is recommended. *Signed.* ¾ p. *Endorsed*, R, 26 April. *Enclosed*:

i. Extract of letter, dated 8 January 1778, from General Washington to Sir W. Howe. [*See* No. 1337i.] *Copy.* ¼ p. [C.O.5,95, fos. 119-122d; entry of covering letter in C.O.5,236, p. 209]

1482 *5 March, Philadelphia*
Same to same, acknowledging No. 23. Conceiving confidence of H.M.'s minister to be withdrawn, which I believe I once possessed, I considered it duty to request dismission. *Entry. Annotated*, R, 26 April. ½ p. [C.O.5,236, p. 210]

1483 *5 March, Pensacola*
* John Stuart to Lord George Germain (No. 22), acknowledging Nos. 5 and 6. Cherokees have now gone home firmly attached to H.M.'s cause. Cowetas have harassed Georgia's frontiers. Creeks, except Oakfuskees and Cussitas, are well-disposed: Taitt and McIntosh can now return there. Rebels under Willing have come down Mississippi in two bateaux, plundering all friends to government. They were at Manchac on 24th ult., and have seized 16-gun ship loading for London. Henry Stuart escaped and is at

Spanish fort. Rebels say they expect reinforcement. Captain Pearis and 25 men have gone to try to recover Manchac. I am trying to check rum trade. *Duplicate. Signed.* 6½ pp. *Endorsed*, R, 6 July. Original not recd. *Enclosed*:

i. Choctaw nation, 4 February 1778. Hardey Perry to Farquhar Bethune. Americans are expected down the river this spring. Indians are tired of watching. *Copy*. 2 pp.

ii. Pensacola, 2 March 1778. John Stuart to Charles Stuart. Rebels are at Manchac and have seized Mr Wilton's ship. I have ordered Bethune to Natchez to collect what Indians and traders he can: furnish him with goods. Colbert is to go to Chickasaws to put them in motion. *Copy*. 2 pp.

iii. Pensacola, 2 March 1778. Same to Farquhar Bethune, ordering him to accompany Choctaw chiefs at Mobile to their nation, and try to relieve Natchez. *Copy*. 1¼ pp.

iv. Pensacola, 10 January 1778. Proclamation by Governor Peter Chester forbidding trade in rum to Indians without particular licence. *Copy*. 5 pp. [C.O.5,79, fos. 112-124d; entry of covering letter in C.O.5,229, pp. 364-370]

1484 *5 March, Pensacola*
Same to same (No. 23), acknowledging commission as colonel of Indian nations, which will place me in respectable light in Indian eyes. I shall not interfere in military department. *Signed*. 1½ pp. *Endorsed*, R, 21 July. [C.O.5,79, fos. 134-135d; entry in C.O.5,230, p. 8]

1485 *5 March, Whitehall*
William Knox to Sir Stanier Porten, sending extracts of letters received from Governor Chester respecting extraordinary proceedings of Spanish governor of New Orleans. *Entry*. ½ p. [C.O.5,251, p. 147]

1486 *6 March, Whitehall*
Same to Philip Stephens. Provide passages to North America for Lieut. Colonel Cuyler and Major Drummond. *Entry*. ¾ p. [C.O.5,254, p. 209]

1487 *6 March, St James's*
William Fraser to William Knox. Sir Joseph Yorke informs that Hanau and Ansbach baggage has been shipped from Rotterdam to London. *Signed*. PS. I will inquire about effects of late Count Grabowski. 1 small p. [C.O.5,141, fos. 23-24d]

1488 *7 March, Portman Square, London*
Viscount Townshend to Lord George Germain. Garrisons in Canada have been left weak in artillery. Brig.-General Pattison reports 79 matrosses wanting to complete his brigade. Reinforcement suggested. *Signed*. 1 p. *Endorsed*, R, 8th. [C.O.5,164, fos. 67-68d; entry in C.O.5,256, pp. 200-201]

1489 *8 March, Whitehall*
* Lord George Germain to Lords of Admiralty, giving orders for attacks on American coast in cooperation with troops. *Draft*. 2½ pp. [C.O.5,128, fos. 83-84d]

1490 *8 March, Whitehall*
Same to Earl of Sandwich, sending for private information copy of most secret letter to commander-in-chief of army in North America respecting employment of troops next campaign. *Draft*. 1½ pp. [C.O.5,128, fos. 85-86d]

1491 *8 March, Whitehall*
* Same to General Sir Henry Clinton (Most Secret). H.M. relies on your zeal and ability at time when essential interests of British empire are engaged. If people in colonies want to enjoy their rights under the constitution, generous terms will be embraced; but preparations to carry on war will not be slackened. Every effort will be made to send reinforcements to the number of 10 or 12,000 men. Should another campaign be necessary, different plan must be followed. Additional force must be sent to Canada, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia; the Floridas must not be left exposed. Unless you can bring Washington to early and decisive action, provide for defence of posts and prepare troops to attack ports between New York and Nova Scotia so as to destroy shipping. If you think necessary, and can establish fortified post in Delaware, you may withdraw from Philadelphia; but H.M.'s preference is that you retain it. Prepare for attack on Georgia in autumn, for which 2000 men should be sufficient. Raise well-affected inhabitants in all provinces where posts are maintained, if necessary for short terms of service. Encourage Europeans and indentured servants with Americans to desert to us. From possession of Georgia advance into South Carolina and North Carolina may be expected. Attack on Charleston would require 4000 men to land behind fortifications. Possession of southern provinces would greatly damage credit and resources of rebels. Diversions should be made in Virginia and Maryland. Northern provinces could then be left to their own feelings and distress. In all these matters you are to use your own discretion. *Draft*. 25¼ pp. [C.O.5,95, fos. 35-49d; entry in C.O.5,263, pp. 1-11]

1492 *8 March, Whitehall*
Same to General Sir William Howe (No. 27). Should you still be in command, Major Drummond will carry dispatch addressed to Sir H. Clinton to you. *Draft*. 1¾ pp. [C.O.5,95, fos. 33-34d; entry in C.O.5,243, pp. 253-254]

1493 *8 March, Whitehall*
William Knox to Major Drummond. You are to take dispatch for Sir H. Clinton to New York in H.M.S. *Ardent*; should he have sailed for Europe, deliver it to Sir W. Howe at Philadelphia together with letter addressed to him, which you will otherwise return to Lord George Germain. *Draft*. 1½ pp. [C.O.5,95, fos. 50-51d; entry in C.O.5,243, p. 253]

1494 *9 March, Admiralty*
Lords of Admiralty to Lord George Germain. There is to be naval yard in North America additional to Halifax. Edward Le Cras is to form it. Request commander-in-chief to provide for defence. *Signed*, Sandwich, J. Buller, Lisburne. 1½ pp. *Endorsed*, R, 13th. [C.O.5,128, fos. 89-90d; entry in C.O.5,259, pp. 222-223]

1495 *9 March, G.P.O.*
Anthony Todd to William Knox. Notice has been given concerning departure of New York and West India mail, but questions in letter of 3 March require answer. *Signed*. 1 small p. [C.O.5,136, fos. 95-96d]

Papers of Henry Laurens — David L. Chestnut, Editor

N1 SF S E302 L3 (1992)

from dif$^{t.}$ principles in his Friends, and opposers_ Troops certainly to go to the Southern Provinces, but when, or how many to each_ not known_ it is said no Officer will know his destination 'till he gets ~~with~~ into a certain Latitude_ Another Vessel goes for St Augustine in a day or two by which I will send another Letter_ Excuse what is here imperfectly said in a great hurry by

Y^{r} most affectionate
J Laurens

My Uncle is well as Anxiety will permit_ Aunt Sisters and Brother well, has been in Town a day or two upon Business, and desires his Love_

SOURCE: ALS, David Library of the American Revolution; addressed on cover "Henry Laurens Esq$^{r.}$ / Charles Town / So Carolina / Sent by way of St Augustine and recommended / to the particular Care of J. Penman Esq^{r}_"; dated below close "24th Novemb. 1775"; docketed by HL "John Laurens / 24 Novem̃. 5 Decem / 1775 Rec$^{d.}$ 16 April / 1776"; endorsed "2[5] March 1776 Received from / Ja^{s}- Penman Esqr & forwarded / by_ Yr hble Sev^{t} / John Graham".

ANDREW WILLIAMSON TO WILLIAM HENRY DRAYTON[1]

White Hall, November 25, 1775

Sir

Your letter by Order of Congress dated the 9$^{th.}$ Instant[2] I Received on the 14$^{th.}$ by the Express and am happy to find my past conduct met the Approbation of your Honour and the Congress, It Shall always be my Study to discharge my duty and the trust reposed in me by that respectable body, before I received your letter I had reinforced Fort Charlotte with Fifty two Militia and Supplied them with Provisions and have Since given Orders

[1]Although addressed to Drayton, this letter was turned over to HL and the Council of Safety for action. HL drafted the Council of Safety's reply to this letter on December 2. These circumstances demonstrate the rapid shifts of authority taking place at this time.

[2]*Journals of S.C. Provincial Congress*, pp. 107–108.

for their continuing there one Month longer, I have also furnished Captain Caldwell with Iron for the Carriages to Mount the Guns.

I Should have had the Honour of transmiting you an account of my Situation before now but could obtain no certain Intiligence from the opposite party untill the Seventeenth Instant in the Night (notwithstanding I had used all possible endavours and Some Expence to obtain Some knowledge of their Strength & Designs) when I learn'd their Numbers amounted to at least fifteen hundred Men and understood that it was chiefly owing to an affidavit made by Captain Richard Pearis[3] that So many Men embodied a Copy whereof I now inclose you as also a Copy of the Oaths[4] they imposed on those who happened to fall into their hands all whom they disarmed Except Such as were willing to Join their party.

On the Eighteenth in the Evening I received certain information that they were crossing Saludy River on their March towards us, and then was Join'd by Major Mayson with Thirty Seven Rangers, I immediately Ordered the Men under Arms and took the resolution of Marching to meet them and demand their intentions and if they were determined to come to Action to be ready before them, and on Acquainting the Officers & Men thereof found them all Chearful and Willing to proceed, but afterwards reflecting on the fatal consequences Should we have been defeated, proposed in a Council of War consisting of Major Mayson and all the Captains to March from the Camp near Ninety Six into the Cleared Ground of Col$^{o.}$ Savages Plantation[5] where we could use our Ar-

[redacted]

Collections, SCHS, III, 35n–36n.

[5]John Savage.

tilery with Advantage and there fortify our Camp till we Should receive more certain information of their Strength (being in immediat expectation of being Join'd by Colonel Thompson and the Rangers at least and also Some Men from the lower part of this Regiment and Augusta) which was unanimously Approved of, and early Next Morning we Marched to Ninety Six with all our provision and Bagage and in About three hours Erected a kind of Fortification of old Fence Rails Join'd to a Barn and Some out-Houses, which before we had quite compleated they had surounded us with a Large body of Men with Drums and Colours, I then Sent out an Officer to demand their intention who on his return reported that Major Robinson & Mr. Patrick Cunningham refused to have any conference but with the Commanding Officers I then sent out Major Mayson & Mr. Bowie, whome they and Mr. Evan McCawrin met between their Men and the F[*or*]t in Sight of both and after about fifteen Minutes conference they return'd an[*d*] reported that they insisted on our immediately delivering up our arms to them and dispersing which was the only terms they were determined to grant us, and that at parting they told them to keep our people within the Fort which was the only place where they could be safe; And immediately they took two of our people Just by the Fort before my face whome I gave Orders to re-take and a Warm engagement ensued, which continued with very little intermission from 3 oClock in the Afternoon of Sunday untill Tuesday SunSet, when they hung out a White Flag from the Jail and called to us that they wanted to Speak to the commanding officers, I reply'd if they wanted to Send an Officer or any Message they should be Safe, on which they Sent a Messenger carrying a lighted Candle and a letter from Major Robinson directed to Colo. Mayson demanding As before to deliver up our Arms and disperse giving us one hours time to return an Answer to which Major Mayson and myself Jointly Answered that we were determined never to Resign our Arms and in About two hours Mr. Bowie who Carried our Answer return'd with a letter making the Same demand, and with him Patrick Cunningham whome I met About fifty yards from the Gate where we conversed for sometime and then he came with us into the Fort where after Some time we agreed to have a conference on the Morrow at Eight oClock, Accordingly on Wednesday Morning Major Mayson Captn. Pickens Mr. Bowie & myself met with Major Robinson Messrs. Patrick Cunningham Evan McCawrin & Richard Pearis And agreed to the Cessation of Hostilities now inclosed you, Which was lucky for us as we had not above 30 lbs. of Powder Except what little the Men had in their Horns, but no Scarcity Appeared as no person knew our stock but one Gentleman & mySelf, we had Thirty-eight Barrels of Flour with four live Beeves in the Fort and got very good Water the third day after digging upwards of forty feet so that if we had had a Sufficiency of Powder we could have Stood a Seige for a considerable time; It will Appear to your Honour by the Articles that we gave up the Swivels, but that was not intended either by them or us for after the Articles was Agreed on and ready for Signing their People to the Number of between three & four hundred surrounded the House where we were and Swore if the Swivels were not given up they would Abide by no Articles on which the Gentlemen of the opposite party declared upon their Honour that if we would Suffer it to be so inserted in the Agreement they would return them which they have done and I have this day Sent them to Fort Charlotte

I am sorry to acquaint your Honour that Some Small difference Arose between Major Mayson & me About the Command of the Militia but flatter myself the Service has not Suffered thereby, to prevent any bad Consequences I agreed that if he would come to Camp I would receive Orders from him for the Militia & Volunteers and give them myself until a Gentleman should Arrive who would command us both, but when I received your letter with Orders from the Congress I thought myself no longer bound by that Agreement especially when he told me he was Ordered to attend the Congress; I beg to be understood that I dont wish for Command but would willingly be of any Service to my Country that I possibly could.

I am obliged in Justice to the Officers and Men on this Expedition to declare that their behaviour great Exceeded the most Sanguine Expectation they did not during a Seige of Near three Days without Water either Murmur or complain and Chearfully Stood at their Posts During three Nights without any fire nor was there any Symptoms of fear to be Seen among them, our loss was very Small owing Chiefly to blinds of Fence Rails and Straw with Some Beeves Hides &ca Erected in the night behind the men who would otherwise have been Exposed to the fire of the Enemy, We

had only thirteen Men Wounded one of whom is Since dead, most of the rest very Slightly, the loss of the opposite party is Said to be considerable_

I have the Honour to be
Sir
your Honors most Obedient
and very humble Servant
A. Wmson.

P.S.. I have inclosed you a Copy of a Letter from me to Mr. Wilkinson and his Answer_

SOURCE: LS, Gibbes Collection, ScA; addressed below close "Honorable Wm. Henry Drayton Esquire"; dated below close "White Hall 25th. November 1775"; docketed by HL "A. Williamson / 25th. Novem 1775_ / Account of the Seige action & Treaty at Ninety / Six_ / Recd & Read 30th_"; numbered "24-14".

TO JOHN LAURENS

Charles Town, November 26, 1775

My Dear Son_

By Le Despenser Packet I wrote to you under dates of the 21st. & 23d. Ulto_ upon a particular subject which I know, if my Letters go safe, will have raised ↑in↓ your breast astonishment, indignation & joy_ all since, has been quiet with me, & apparently much better than if the circumstance had not happened_ here let it be forgotten._

I could fill sheets of Paper by giving you a narrative of our proceedings from the Meeting of the Congress the 1st. Inst. but I think it better on every account to be brief & leave you to gather particulars from common report, from the Report by our Enemies or from any report_ tell-tale time shall inform you of truth, I wish it may reveal to you every thing that can be said to our honour & advantage_

Accounts from our back Country are very unfavorable today,[1] better I hope will be produced to morrow_ We have just received [orders][2] from the Continental Congress to defend this Capital to the last extremity_[3] we had anticipated the command so far as our resolutions would extend_ but the Congress with their Order should have sent us means_ I will say no more, but that we seem, some of us, determined to do all that weakness can do_ I think we once had it in our power to have been strong by hiding our weakness_ God's Will be done._

I am in good health, sitting in a House striped of its furniture & in danger of being knocked down in a very few days by Cannon Ball, yet firm & undismayed_ My Countrymen have not in every case been guided by wisdom, because they sometimes abandoned her_ but still I hold their cause to be good & will not shrink nor abandon them_ I hope all in due time will be well_ be not anxious on my Account but attend closely to those whom I love more than I love my self_

When the Ship is on the point of foundering, it is of very little moment to a Passenger to know that his Birds are all alive & his Trunk well secured_ however I must say a few words to my Dear Brother your Dear Uncle_ his domestics are all well but I believe some of them are not free from faults Ishmael is at the bottom, I know not what to do with them nor with my own_ I am in treaty for & hope to get to morrow a Bill of Excha. for £500_ for him altho I must borrow to pay for the Amount_ I have exhausted my Stock & now no body pays either on his or my Account_ not even Rents._ I have just sent Mrs. Rattray & Miss Cummings[4] to Mr.

[1]HL may have been referring to the report of William Moore, a representative in the Provincial Congress from Ninety Six, that included information concerning "a skirmish, said to have happened last Monday, between enemies of this country, led by Patrick Cunningham, Jacob Bowman, and others, and a body of militia, under the command of Major Andrew Williamson." *Journals of S.C. Provincial Congress*, p. 151.

[2]Bracketed word supplied from letterbook copy.

[3]The Provincial Congress on November 28, after considering "the sense of the Continental Congress, that Charles-Town ought to be defended to the last extremity," passed a resolution recommending "that all such persons who have departed, do forthwith return . . . And that all persons . . . liable to bear arms, and who are in Charles-Town, do not depart therefrom." *Journals of S.C. Provincial Congress*, p. 160; *JCC*, III, 326.

[4]Elizabeth Cummings, the daughter of widow Janet (Govan) Cummings, was Mrs. Helen (Govan) Rattray's niece. She married George Harland Hartley Aug. 2, 1776, and sailed to England, with her mother and husband, in the summer of 1777. *SCHM*, V (1904), 132; LI (1950), 46–47; Loyalist Transcripts, LV, 482–485.

SOURCE: LS, ScA; addressed below close "Coll: Laurens."; dated "Camp Congaree, 28th. Novr. 1775."; docketed by HL "Willm. Thomson / 28 Novem 1775 / Recd 4th. Decem"; numbered "24-36".

COUNCIL OF SAFETY TO ANDREW WILLIAMSON

Charles Town, December 2, 1775

Sir_

In the recess of ~~the~~ Provincial Congress which adjourned ~~the 29th Ultº~~ ↑on Wednesday last↓[1] your several dispatches directed to the President under cover to Mr_ Gervais came before us_ Vizt

[1st][2] Your Letter of the 25th. November ~~which inclosed~~ [2d] The Treaty, between Major Robinson ~~on the part of the Enemies of American Liberty and~~ Yourself & Major Mayson[3] ~~on our part, together with~~ [3] A Return of Troops under Your Command ~~in the Fortified Camp~~ at Ninety-Six_[4] [4] Another Letter ~~of the same date.~~ ↑dated as above_↓ ~~illegible~~ [5th] Richd. Pearis's affidavit_ & [6] the form of a Test Oath, proposed by Robinson's Party. ~~lastly~~ [7th] Your correspondence with Mr. Edward Wilkinson under the 6th. & 7th. Ultº._[5]

Your Country is greatly indebted ~~to you~~ for your attention to the safety of Fort Charlotte, but more especially for the Brave

[1]The first session of the Second Provincial Congress was adjourned on Nov. 29, 1775, with the second session scheduled to convene Feb. 1, 1776. *Journals of S.C. Provincial Congress*, pp. 168, 171.

[2]The bracketed numbers were inserted by HL when he edited his draft.

[3]Treaty of Ninety Six, Nov. 22, 1775. Gibbes Collection, ScA.

[4]A Report of the Militia and Volunteers on duty at Ninety Six, Nov. 19, 1775. Gibbes Collection, ScA.

[5]Andrew Williamson's Nov. 6, 1775, letter to Edward Wilkinson conveyed news of the Loyalists' interception of the ammunition directed by the Council of Safety to the Indians. He asked the Indian Commissioner to inform the Cherokees of the robbery and "explain this matter properly to the warriors and head men . . . to prevent . . . any breach of comity between them and this Province." Wilkinson's November 7 response noted that the Indians were with him when word of the robbery arrived. The Cherokees, he reported, accused the patriots of telling "a great many Lies about giving them ammunition" and that while they did not wish to end their friendship with the Americans, would "go now & hunt for their Father Capt. Stuart" to see if powder could be obtained from him. Williamson to Wilkinson, Nov. 6, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History*, I, 209–210; Wilkinson to Williamson, Nov. 7, 1775, Kendall Collection.

& very Important defence which you made in ~~the~~ ↑your↓ Fortified Camp ↑at Ninety Six↓_ had the Enemy broke through that Post, they ↑leaders↓ would have been encouraged to penetrate the lower settlements & ~~might~~ ↑& probably would↓ have occasioned us ten fold embarrassment_ We highly applaud ~~your~~ ↑the↓ whole ↑of your↓ conduct ↑in that affair↓ & with great pleasure on behalf of the good People of this Colony return you Thanks_ & ~~We~~ ↓we↑ request you to signify in form the sense we have of their late services to Major Mayson & to all the Officers & Troops which were under your Command._

The ↑proposition for a↓ suspension of Hostilities was ~~undoubtedly a~~ ↑extremely↓ fortunate ~~proposition~~ to Men ~~in your distressed circumstances,~~ ↑who↓ from the want of Amunition & the hardships which you ~~must~~ ↑had↓ endured under constant action three days & nights without Fire or other refreshment; ↑~~must have been reduced~~ were reduced to circumstances truly deplorable↓ such fortitude meritted such success._[6]

At the expiration of the stipulated term, our friends will be collected; ↑among whom we rely upon you with all ↑your↓ Interest & Influence_ ~~You~~ We shall then be↓ ~~&~~ prepared to demand submission to such articles as will secure the future Peace of this Colony against the attacks of those ↑troublesome↓ misguided People, Enemies to their own & the happiness of their Posterity.

As ~~We~~ ↑we↓ have not heard properly either from Colloº. Richardson or Colloº. Thomson ~~& therefore~~ ↑we↓ cannot account for their slow progress, when we learn their strength & plan for uniting their forces, we shall immediately give orders for such operations as we hope will prove effectual.

You could not have meant by the 7th. Article of the Treaty to bind any Troops of this Colony ~~which were not going~~ ↑but such as might have been Marching↓ directly to your Camp as a reinforcement, therefore if Colonel Richardson by virtue of Orders which he received from the Congress should act offensively against the Insurgent party ↑even before the expiration of the twenty days↓ such Act cannot be construed an infraction of that Article &[7] although we do not mean to prompt him by any new Order, ~~we do~~

[6]Crosshatch here to indicate new paragraph.

[7]Ampersand written over dash.

~~not hold ourselves~~ ↑on the other hand we are not↓ obliged to supersede or countermand those under which he took the Field.

~~By~~ The 4th. Article ~~it is agreed~~ ↑stipulates_↓ that dispatches from the Contracting Parties shall be sent ↑unsealed↓ to "their Superiors" ~~unsealed~~, by which we understand that each Party is to be fully acquainted with the correspondence of the other, we therefore take it for granted that we have a right to know every verbal ~~correspondence~~ ↑intercourse ~~by the Enemy~~ on the Enemy's part↓ with Lord William Campbell, & for that purpose to accompany Major Robinson's Messenger whenever he appears by a Proper Agent, otherwise the plain sense of that article ~~would~~ ↑will↓ be defeated & we ~~should be~~ ↑shall be↓ ensnared by the shew of a Letter to one purpose, perhaps altogether Innocent, while messages of a quite opposite & misheivous tendency ~~might~~ ↑may↓ be ↑secretly↓ interchanged ~~with secrecy~~.

~~We hold~~ Pearis's affidavit ~~to be~~ ↑We hold to be↓ a groundless & malicious Libel, calculated to deceive the People & to ~~injure~~ ↑prejudice their minds against↓ the Honble Mr. Drayton because of the active part which he has taken in favōr of American Liberty_ we are also of opinion that the late attack was hastened by the instigation of that infamous Traitor, who in the very warmth of friendly professions, wantonly abandoned us & joined the Enemy_ when 20 days from the 22d. November are elapsed your endeavours will not be wanting to lay hold in particular of that grand Offender, nor will we be deficient in proper rewards to Persons who ~~should~~ ↑will↓ seize & bring him him to Charles Town_ to you, we need not urge the necessity for keeping this ~~in the mean time~~ a profound secret.

~~We here inclose a Commission appointing John Bowie Esq.~ Captain of a Company of foot to consist of one hundred Privates which we request you will deliver to him & desire he will recommend proper persons for two Lieutenants & one Ensign & that he will in due time appoint four Serjeants over & above the hundred & as any Corporals from the Ranks as he shall think proper when he has recruited his Compliment or even Eighty Men he will transmit the Names to us, Commissions shall then be sent for the Officers & Orders to take upon him the Command of Fort Charlotte in the mean time we shall correspond on this head with Colo. Thomson in such terms as to avoid giving Offence to the present Commandant_ observe that we wish Mr. Bowie to complete the intended compliment of his Company 100_ with all possible expedition although we desire to be informed when he has enlisted Eighty Men, these are all to be subject to the articles of War, a Copy of which shall accompany this in order that the proper Oaths may be administred & Officers & Men know their duty._~~

We pay due regard to your recommendation of Mr. Bowie but ~~we are Limitted~~ by the Laws of Congress ~~in our power~~ we can only grant him a Commission ~~as~~ ↑to be↓ Captain of a Volunteer Company of Militia ~~for the immediate service which you have pointed out~~_ when therefore that Gentleman shall have collected one hundred such Men as ~~he &~~ you ↑& himself↓ shall approve of, those Men have made choice of him to be their Captain, & of two proper Men to be first & second Lieutenants & ↑of↓ one Ensign, let him transmit a List of the Names under a short Petition ~~declare for~~ declaratory of the choice of Officers & praying ~~illegible~~ a confirmation of ~~their~~ ↑such↓ choice & we will immediately return the proper Commissions & Order Capt Bowie to the Command of Fort Charlotte which we shall endeavour so to conduct as to avoid giving offence to the present Commandant_ We recommend to your consideration & Capt Bowie's the necessity for binding Men who are to be employed in so important a trust to serve for a certain term, one Year for Instance if not sooner discharged, & to observe under Oath certain Rules & to be liable to certain Penalties & Mulcts for neglect of Duty or disobedience of Orders_[8]

We have a confidence in your Zeal & vigilance which assures us that notwithstanding the present Cessation of Arms, you will not ~~remain~~ ↑stand↓ an Idle spectator if ~~any~~ attempts ↑should be made↓ to injure our Cause, contrary to the Letter or Spirit of the Treaty either by our old or by upstart Enemies, by any means or under any pretence whatsoever._ watchfulness & perseverence are necessary to guard against the various machinations of a wicked Ministry who ~~seem~~ ↑are↓ resolved to attack us in Front & Rear, who by secret Emissaries stir up Enemies in our very bosom & who leave no Stone unturned no means unessayed to work our utter ruin.

[8]This paragraph was written after the close, but was marked for insertion in place of the preceding paragraph which was completely cancelled.

The Scorpion Sloop of War together with a large Transport Ship[9] are come to Anchor in Rebellion Road where our Enemies ↑now↓ make a formidable appearance ~~four topsail Vessels & an armed Schooner_ we do not know whether~~ the Transport has brought ↑some heavy Cannon but no↓ ~~any~~ Troops ~~nor what is the design of her approach.~~ ↑yet we are threatned with an early attack_↓ on our part we have erected several new & ~~have~~ strengthned our old Batteries, Fort Johnson is in very good condition & we are determined to the utmost of our Power to defend the Metropolis_ the destruction of which is probably their Aim._ the Inhabitants are removing all their effects, in two or three days the Houses in Charles Town, will be clear of Merchandize & Furniture._

You have allways our Esteem & best wishes_

By order of &c^a^.
HL Presid^t^.

SOURCE: ADraftS, L.W. Smith Collection, NjMoHP; no address; dated "Charles Town 2^d^. December 1775_".

FROM BARNARD ELLIOTT

December 2, 1775

Sir

M^r^. A^n^. Loocock[1] is willing to undertake the making of floating Rafts, that will, if not entirely stop the passage thro' the hog Island Channel, at least retard the Vessels, a day to break them loose, during which time we may have an advantage by firing random Shot at them, and no small boat will attempt to destroy them while the Cannon at y^r^. Battery can reach them._ M^r^. Loocock thinks the expence will not exceed 20, or 30£ each and that Six will answer the purpose. If after laying this before the Honble the Council of Safety, They should think fit to employ M^r^. Loocock, he will do his utmost to compleat the Work in time, to be useful to the Town_ I Am Sir

Y^r^. Most Obed^t^. & Hble Servt.
Barnard Elliott

SOURCE: ALS, Emmet Collection, NN; addressed on cover "To / The Honble Col: H. Laurens Presd^t^. / of the Council / of Safety / Chas. Town S^o^ Carolina"; addressed below close "Col: Laurens_ Presd^t^. / of þ Council"; dated below close "Saturday 2^d^. Decr. 1775_"; numbered "6-19".

[9]The British transport *Palliser* arrived at Charleston from North Carolina with the sloop *Scorpion*, Nov. 27, 1775. *Naval Documents* (Clark), II, 1194.

[1]Aaron Loocock (1733–1794), a British-born Charleston merchant who was active both in the city and the backcountry, owned 3,450 acres in Craven County and a 900-acre plantation on Goose Creek. He sat in the Provincial Congresses and the First General Assembly for the District Eastward of the Wateree River and in the Third General Assembly for St. James Goose Creek. Loocock was active in support of the Revolution but retired to his plantation Middleburgh on the Wateree in 1780. After the fall of Charleston he returned to the city and took the oaths necessary to preserve his property. Rather than cooperate further with the British, he sailed to London where he assisted American prisoners of war. After the peace he returned to Charleston where he was jailed, released, and forced to leave the state. In 1784, cleared of charges Loocock returned to South Carolina and regained much of his estate. *Directory of the S.C. House*, II, 411–413.

RICHARD RICHARDSON TO COUNCIL OF SAFETY

McLaurin's Store, December 2, 1775

Sirs

In a Very wet Day and the Midst of Bustle, Just Starting to march I take the Liberty to Aquaint You that ↑we↓ are Near M^c^. Laurins in the fork, as Yet Unmolested by the Opposites, Our people have taken The persons herein named, which from their knowledg[*e*] of the part they have Vigourously [*a*]cted will Not permit me Even if I was Inclined to Let go; Viz Cap^ts^. John Mayfield[1] Benjn. Wofford,[2] W^m^. Hunt,[3] Danl. Stagner, Jacob Stack_[4] Cause of their being

[1]Probably John Mayfield, a native of Virginia, who represented the Upper District Between the Broad and Saluda Rivers in the Third General Assembly (1780). *Directory of the S.C. House*, III, 488.

[2]Benjamin Wofford, a native of Maryland, was the brother of patriots Joseph and William Wofford. After his release from custody he rejoined the Loyalists and by 1781 was serving as a major in Brig. Gen. Robert Cunningham's Ninety Six Brigade. After the Revolution he petitioned the General Assembly for clemency. In 1790 he resided in Spartanburg County, Ninety Six District where he held nine slaves. Leonardo Andrea Genealogy Files, roll 49, pp. 3, 7, SCL (ScU); *SCHM*, XXXIV (1933), 198; Clark, *Loyalists in the Southern Campaign*, p. 268.

[3]Probably William Hunt (d. ca. 1808) of Greenville County, Ninety Six District. Greenville County Wills, I (1787–1849), Book A, pp. 28–30; *1790 Census*, p. 67.

[4]Daniel Stagner and Jacob Stack, both from Ninety Six, convinced the Council of Safety that they had "been led into the criminal part they had taken in the late com-

made very useful to the Public_[5] If he is not retain'd in their Service, he will make Salt Petre & Gunpowder, & dispose of the latter on his own Private acco^t. (which he may do at a very high Price,) by wch. means it's not improbable that our Enemies in the Interior parts of the Province may be furnish'd with Ammunition more Plentifully than our Friends_

The Terms on which he has been employ'd are these_ He pays the Public for the Salt Peter, & Brimstone, finds Charcoal & Labour, & Receives 20/. for every pound of Gunpowder which he makes_ Thus, suppose_ that

1 ℔ of Nitre costs him	0.15.0
¼ Brimstone	0. 0.6
which with Charcoal will produce	0.15.6
= 1½℔ Gunpowder for wch. he receives	1.10.0

By this he gets 14/6 for making 1½℔ of Gunpowder, or 9/8. ℔.

The Terms which he says would content him are these_ The Public to find their own Salt Petre & Brimstone, he to find Charcoal & Labour, & to be paid 10/. per pound for what Gunpowder he delivers; The Public also to Advance him £500_ to Erect & purchase proper Machines & Utensils for the Carrying on the Business, He giving Security either to return the £500_ so advanced, or the Machines & Implements in good order_

The Expence to the Public besides the £500, advanced, (should it not be return'd) will stand, Thus,

If 1 ℔ of Nitre cost	0.15.0
¼ Brimstone	0. 0.6
those ingredients with Charcoal will produce 1½℔ of Gunpowd^r. for mak^g. of wch. will be paid	0.15.0
The cost of ½℔ of Gunpowd^r. is — or 20/4 ℔ pound	1.10.6—

By the last mention'd terms he will get only 4^d. per pound more for making the Gunpowder, than he does by the first_ But, his advantage will be in having proper Machines & Conveniences, (at

[5]The Council of Safety on Jan. 26, 1776, as a means of inducement, awarded William Bartey £200 "the premium granted by Congress, for the first 50 lb. of merchantable saltpetre manufactured in this colony at one work." *Collections, SCHS*, III, 224.

present he has not) which will enable him to do much more work with fewer hands & more expeditiously than he does now_

But, as Gunpowder cannot be made without Nitre, & as the quantity in the Province is very trifling, I humbly submit it to the Council wether or not the making of that Article should not first be encourag'd_

The Public have Brimstone enough in possession to make Twenty thousand pounds of Gunpowder if they had the Nitre to mix with it_ Bartey is not only clever as a maker of Gunpowder, but, also understands the making of Nitre; With very little Conveniencies he expects in a few days to deliver as much Nitre of his own making as will obtain the Bounty Offerr'd by the Provincial Congress_ He is poor & cannot procure proper Shades, Boilers &c^a. for the Work to be carried on to any considerable extent, but, if he was assisted with a Sufficient Sum (say about £1000_ or £1500_) on giving Security as mention'd in the Case of the Gunpowder, he says he could bring the Nitre Works to a great degree of perfection. I thought it not improper to mention these things to the Council_ Bartey is the Bearer of this & attends to Answer any enquiry that may be made of him on these heads.

I am Your obed^t. hbl Serv^t_
Tho. Corbett

SOURCE: ALS, HL Papers, ScHi; addressed on cover "Henry Laurens Esq^r_ / President of the / Council of Safety"; dated "Charles Town. 9th. Decr. 1775"; docketed by HL "Thom^s. Corbett 9th. December 1775 Rec^d 14th"; docketed "1 / (copied)".

Command at Dorchester & Coll^o. Moultrie to withdraw the Provin-

[3]John Walker of Virginia, who had been appointed an Indian Commissioner by the Continental Congress, attended the Salisbury conference. He was also appointed by the Virginia House of Burgesses, June 24, 1775, to be one of the commissioners from that province to treat with the Indians at Fort Pitt. O'Donnell, *Southern Indians*, pp. 23–24, 27; Edward G. Williams, [illegible]

[1]The enclosure dated "Salisbury North Carolina Monday 13th Novr. 1775," noted that the commissioners "met at the house of the Widdow Steel," that Robert Hamilton of Augusta, Georgia, served as secretary, and included the resolutions of the commissioners. Also included in the packet were copies of a talk to the Cherokees, a talk to the Creeks and a letter to the Continental Congress, all dated Nov. 13, 1775. Kendall Collection; *Collections, SCHS*, III, 83.

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I am Your obed^t. hbl Serv^t_
Tho. Corbett

SOURCE: ALS, HL Papers, ScHi; addressed on cover "Henry Laurens Esq^r_ / President of the / Council of Safety"; dated "Charles Town. 9th. Decr. 1775"; docketed by HL "Thom^s. Corbett 9th. December 1775 Rec^d 14th"; docketed "1 / (copied)". Begin to Copy

[redacted]

[1]The enclosure dated "Salisbury North Carolina Monday 13th Novr. 1775," noted that the commissioners "met at the house of the Widdow Steel," that Robert Hamilton of Augusta, Georgia, served as secretary, and included the resolutions of the commissioners. Also included in the packet were copies of a talk to the Cherokees, a talk to the Creeks and a letter to the Continental Congress, all dated Nov. 13, 1775. Kendall Collection; *Collections, SCHS*, III, 83.

[redacted]

[2]"Mr." is written over "Col".

[redacted]

I am Gentlemen—
Your Most Obedt. Huml. Servt.
George Galphin

SOURCE: LS, Kendall Collection; no address; dated below close "Silver Bluff / 9th: December 1775"; docketed by HL "Geo.~ Galphin / 9th Decem 1775 / Recd & Read 14th. / Answd. 18th—".

COUNCIL OF SAFETY TO BENJAMIN SMITH[1]

Charles Town, December 11, 1775

Sir.

We have considered your Letter of yesterdays date & answer to the several parts as follows—

Applications for Amunition should be made to the Colonels of the several Regiments.— Colo. Glover & Colo. Singleton have been supplied with proper quantities & will no doubt do their Duty—

We have directed Colo. Glover to order a Field Officer to take the Command at Dorchester & Colo. Moultrie to withdraw the Provin-

[3]John Walker of Virginia, who had been appointed an Indian Commissioner by the Continental Congress, attended the Salisbury conference. He was also appointed by the Virginia House of Burgesses, June 24, 1775, to be one of the commissioners from that province to treat with the Indians at Fort Pitt. O'Donnell, *Southern Indians*, pp. 23–24, 27; Edward G. Williams, *Fort Pitt and the Revolution on the Western Frontier* (Pittsburgh, 1970), p. 52.

[1]Benjamin Smith of Goose Creek (1735–1790), who served as a captain and later as major of the Berkeley County militia, represented St. James Goose Creek in the Royal Assembly (1772–1775), the Provincial Congresses, and the General Assembly (1776, 1779–1780). He provided both militia and Continental forces with supplies during the Revolution. *Directory of the S.C. House*, II, 629–630; *Collection, SCHS*, III, 77; *HL Papers*, III, 177n, 178n.

[redacted]

[redacted]

ted him to do this, and to carry the Schooner[4] to Edisto, which Place being in this Colony, does not come within our Authority to prevent.— We are Gentlemen

Your Humble Servts.
Paul Trapier[5]
S: Wragg[6]
George Croft[7]
John Murray
Wm Cuttino[8]
Anthony Bonneau[9]

SOURCE: LS, S.C. Council of Safety Papers, 1775–1779, NN; addressed below close "Directed to the Honble / Council of Safety / Charles Town—"; dated "Geo: Town. 14. Decr. 1775."; docketed by HL "Committee at George / Town 14 Decem 1775 / Recd. 18th—"; numbered "29-12".

[4]Probably the schooner *Hawke*, William Findley, owned by Findley and Charleston merchant Thomas Todd. Council of Safety to Georgetown Committee, Jan. 3, 1776; *Collections, SCHS*, III, 143–144; *SCHM*, LXXIV (1973), 232.

[5]Paul Trapier (1716–1793), a Georgetown merchant, who owned a townhouse in Charleston, property in Craven and Granville counties, and Windsor plantation on the Black River, had represented Prince George Winyah and St. James Santee parishes in several Royal Assemblies (1747–1760). Despite taking British protection in 1780, his lands were not confiscated and he was elected to the Senate in the Fifth General Assembly (1783–1784). *Directory of the S.C. House*, II, 678–680; Rogers, *History of Georgetown County*, p. 284.

[6]Samuel Wragg (1721–1787), a Georgetown merchant, was one of the citizens to take an oath of allegiance to the Crown after the British captured Georgetown in July 1780. Rogers, *History of Georgetown County*, p. 123.

[7]John George Croft (1741–1780) was a Georgetown merchant and planter whose firm HL recommended in 1777 to a French correspondent as "a House of good Credit & responsibility." In July 1780 he signed an oath of loyalty to the Crown. HL to Jacob Sandilands, March 26, 1777, High Court of Admiralty 32/335/11, PRO; Rogers, *History of Georgetown County*, p. 123; Robert William Croft, *A Southern Legacy: The House of Croft* (Baltimore, 1981), pp. 12, 15.

[8]William Cuttino (1747–1806), a native of South Carolina, was a master carpenter who resided in Georgetown. He owned 950 acres in Craven County and in 1790 held twenty-eight slaves. George P. Cuttino, *History of the Cuttino Family* (Atlanta, 1982), pp. 15–17; *1790 Census*, p. 53.

[9]Anthony Bonneau, a Georgetown merchant.

FROM RICHARD RICHARDSON

Camp Liberty Hill, December 16, 1775

Sir

I herewith send you the Persons of Colo. Thos. Fletchall, Capt. Richd Paris, Capt Jacob Fry[1] Capt. George Subergh, John Mc. Williams,[2] Phillip Wells,[3] James Davis, Capt. Mc. David Alias Mc. Dade[4]; Joseph Alexander—[5] These being all Adjudged by the Officers and people here to be Offenders of Such a Nature that from their Active part they have Taken— It Wou'd[6] be Dangerous for me however (Inocent they may appear before You) to Let Either of them go They are Under Guard of my son[7] Who from his Camp Dishabille will appear before You— I have Nothing perticular since my Last, these Unhappy People are in a great Panick, Still flying before us, and 'tis told are Some of them gone to bring the Indians Down, in person, tis said Young Paris;[8] if it shou'd be the Case it Cou'd not be in a better time— and if Any such Intentions, Shou'd be Glad the Whole wer[9] to Come While we are here— I shall Use Every Measure in My Power that Appears to be Salutary, but some things Distresses me Much, that I want Advice Upon, and for Which I shall Write you[10] by Express wch. may be Down before this; had I

[1]Jacob Fry (Fray, Frey, Free) (d. 1800), who had settled on Cannon's Creek in the Dutch Fork by the mid–1750s, was a former Regulator and prerevolutionary militia officer. Brown, *South Carolina Regulators*, pp. 204, 211.

[2]Probably John McWilliams a planter who resided in the north part of Orangeburg District. Richard Richardson described him as "the machine maker to set fire to the Ninety-Six Fort." He became a patriot and was imprisoned by the British. Gibbes, *Documentary History*, I, 253; Audited Account No. 5164, ScA; *1790 Census*, p. 95.

[3]Philip Wells of Ninety Six District still resided in Laurens County, Ninety Six District in 1790. Gibbes, *Documentary History*, I, 253; *1790 Census*, p. 75.

[4]Patrick McDavid. Gibbes, *Documentary History*, I, 249.

[5]Joseph Alexander obtained a grant for 600 acres in Ninety Six District in 1773. Colonial Plats, XVIII, 499, ScA.

[6]"W" written over another letter.

[7]Richard Richardson, Jr. (1741–1816) participated in the Snow Campaign as a captain in his father's militia regiment. He joined Thomas Sumter's 6th Regiment and was promoted to the rank of major (1778). Taken prisoner at the fall of Charleston, Richardson escaped and joined Francis Marion's Brigade, in which he commanded a regiment (1781). He also served in the General Assembly (1782–1784) representing the District Eastward of the Wateree River. *Directory of the S.C. House*, III, 606–607.

[8]Richard Pearis had three sons one of whom had an Indian mother and is referred to as G. Pearis in his father's Loyalist claim. Richard and Robert, his white sons, both served in Loyalist regiments. It is not clear which young Pearis went to bring the Indians down. Loyalist Transcripts, XXVI, 377, 383; Clark, *Loyalists in the Southern Campaign*, pp. 23, 24, 76, 78, 79.

[9]"r" crowded in between the "e" and the "t".

[10]"y" written over "b".

The Indian son was George. After his grandfather George Pearis who is now living in U.A.

regular & distinct accounts ~~of the whole~~ & we trust you will take the Resolutions of Congress for your guide.

By order of the Council of Safety.

Henry Laurens,
President.

SOURCE: ACopyS, HL Papers, ScHi; addressed below close "Colonel Bull._"; dated "Charles Town 18th. December 1775_"; docketed "Copy 18th. Decem.~ 1775. / Colonel Bull".

COUNCIL OF SAFETY TO GEORGE GALPHIN

Charles Town, December 18, 1775

Sir_

We have received your dispatch of the 9th. Inst. & are glad to learn that you are returned Safely to Silver Bluff_

It is not at present in ~~y~~ our power consistently with Orders & the welfare of the Colony to Issue the quantity of Gun powder which you think will be wanted for Indian Service_ consider our present circumstances threatned with an attack by four Frigates & a Bomb Ketch, ordered by the Continental Congress to defend Charles Town to the "last extremity" our Magazines containing no more than a bare Sufficiency of powder to make a tolerable Stand; demands upon us from all quarters of the Colony for Supplies of the Militia & you will agree with us that it would be extremely imprudent to part with 2000. ~~#~~ for Indians at this critical juncture, we have many Vessels abroad in Search of powder Some of them no doubt will Succeed when our Stock will bear it we Shall not be penurious. in the mean time we must of necessity trust to Rum & good words for Soothing until we can Satisfy the further demands of our Red friends_ When you learn the Issue of the Cherokee Visit to Mr. Stuart you will be so good as to communicate it_ Your draughts on us for Currency in lieu of Continental Money will be very agreeable to us & will meet due honour_

Pearis has proved himSelf to be an infamous Traitor by joining the Insurgents under Cunningham & indeed he is chargeable with exciting the Insurrection by forgeing abominable Lies & Swearing to them in the most formal & Solemn manner His Glory

will not Shine many days longer, We have accounts that the party are distracted & broken to pieces, Mr. Pearis & other leaders must be taken, killed, or fly the Country we hope the troubles from that quarter are near their end & the favorable accounts which we have received from Quebec[1] will tend to dishearten all our Inland Enemies those beyond Sea may also be thereby awakned to reflect more Seriously upon the event which their destructive measures is likely to produce_

By order of the Council of Safety_

SOURCE: Copy, S.C. Council of Safety Papers, 1775–1779, NN; addressed below close "George Galphin Esquire_"; dated "Charles Town So Carolina 18th. Decem 1775"; docketed by HL "Copy 18 Decem 1775. / to Geo Galphin_".

COUNCIL OF SAFETY TO GEORGETOWN COMMITTEE

Charles Town, December 19, 1775

Gentlemen

Your Several dispatches of the 14th. came to hand last night & were considered at our meeting this Morning.

there is no Resolution of the Continental Congress against Vessels going away in Ballast & no doubt but that Such may be permitted to clear out ~~of~~ ↑at↓ the Custom House_ the Resolution respecting the clearing Vessels in Georgia North Carolina &ca_ commonly termed priviledged Colonies, extends only to Vessels with Cargoes_ Ellis's Case Seems therefore to be Settled_ you were nevertheless extremely right in prohibiting the exportation of Stores beyond a Sufficient & necessary quantity for the intended Voyage Nor is there any Resolution forbidding the exportation of Cask to purchase Salt the Importation of which is allowed & as the Shipping produce is prohibited there is no other way of procuring necessaries (Arms & Amunition excepted) but by Cash or Bills._ A Colony Trade with the Licence of Committees of Inspection is al-

[1]On December 15 a ship arrived at Charleston from Philadelphia with passengers, including Joseph Habersham, who brought news of American victories in Canada. Gen. Richard Montgomery had taken Fort St. John, Quebec, on November 2, after a fifty-four day siege. *S.C. General Gazette*, Dec. 22, 1775.

Friends to the Constitution have before said, betray the Common Liberty by submitting to it. Besides it degrades, & too lessens the Valour of the Associators by insinuating fears from the formidable power of twenty Gentlemen, whose Age, Disposition, & the Education of most of them have not formed them for enterprizes of this kind. Those who smile at this pretended cause of apprehension, may perhaps dive into the real, & not very deep motives of it. The Gist of any Crime in me must be by pursuing a Conduct to oppose your measures by force: Now, pray Sir, what steps can you trace that indicate any such design in me?

I shall comply with your order in going to my plantation before the expiration of the week; Whither I shall carry with me the most hearty, nay self-interested wishes for the Welfare of the Province, & the sense I have of your Politeness.

I am &c^a.

SOURCE: Copy, AO 13/136, PRO; addressed "to Henry Laurens Esquire / in answer to one from him Septr 1st."; dated "1775 Septr 5th"; certified "N^o^- 2_ / True Copy from the Original / Examined by _ B. Villepontoux JP & NP_".

FROM WILLIAM THOMSON

Congarees, September 6, 1775

Sir

Since I wrote You from Camp Amelia the 2^d^ Instant,[1] I received Your favor of the 31st. Ultimo, which gives me great satisfaction._ You may depend that I will as soon as possible exert myself in following Your Orders for raising Volunteer Companies & inform You of my progress therein_

I find it impossible at present on account of our Marching, to make a proper Return of my whole Regiment, but will endeavour to do it, as soon as I meet The Hon̄ble Mr. Drayton_ I had issued Orders, previous to the receipt of Your Letter, for all Returns to be dated and Signed by the Commanding Officer of each Company; but the omission in Capt. Wise's was owing to his not

[1]William Thomson to HL, Sept. 2, 1775, HL Papers, ScHi.

being present at the time it was given in_ nor did he join the Regiment before Yesterday; his reason for ↑not↓ joining before, he says, is owing to orders he received from the Hon̄ble the Council of Safety_[2]

You may rest assured that I will, to the best of my abilities, follow Your own and The Hon̄ble Mr. Drayton's Instructions, and will give him all the Military aid in my power, whenever he shall think proper to demand it_ I shall carefully review all Your former Instructions & give such Orders with regard to the Post of Fort Charlotte & for the safety of our associated Friends at Augusta, as I may think the most prudent at this alarming time_

I am extremely obliged to You, for consenting to my leaving the Camp as I requested, which I shall do, when I can with propriety do it, but at present I have not the least thoughts of it_

The re-appointment of Capt. Ezekiel Polk, I hope will be attended with every good consequence & that he will endeavour to gain Credit by his future behaviour_ inclosed You will receive a Copy of his Letter to me which I just received, but shall not make any reply thereto before I see Mr. Drayton_

Yesterday about noon when the several Companies were getting ready to proceed on their march for the Ridge, We received an Express from Capt. Parris[3] informing us that a Captain Hendrick[4] and several others belonging to Col^o.^ Fletchall's Regiment, Stopped him [*torn*] Cherokee Indians from coming down here, at about ten Miles distance [*torn*] this & hoped that we would come to their assistance_ The Companies were [*immedi*]ately Ordered to go and rescue them & to take Hendrick & his associates Priso[*ner*]s_ I arrived there just before night and took Capt. Hendrick; but the othe[*rs*] escaped soon after he was taken and before any of the Companies came up to the house they were in,_ I ordered the Prisoner, under a Guard to the Camp where he is now in confinement_ Capt. Parris with the Indians came along with us then

This Morning I had a Talk with these Indians and informed

[2]HL to William Thomson, Aug. 31, 1775, HL Papers, ScHi.
[3]Richard Pearis.
[4]William Hendricks (Hendrick, Hendrix) of Ninety Six District was a captain in Major Patrick Cunningham's Regiment, Little River Militia, Ninety Six Brigade in 1780. Clark, *Loyalists in the Southern Campaign*, p. 259.

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572-3

Post it
Notes
Post it
Notes

them, that Mr. Drayton had desired m[*e*] to conduct them to the Ridge, as he expected I would see them before he did; they said that they were tired a Marching & would rather remain here untill Mr. Drayton came to them_ They gave me the Talk from the Nation and desired me to send it to him directly, which I have done_

I purpose Marching to Morrow Morning early for the Ridge where I expect to be with the Companies on Friday Evening_ I should have done it to day had not our horses been fatigued Yesterday_ We did not return to Camp before one OClock this Morning_

I remain with great Esteem

Sir Your most obedt: hum Servt:
Wm. Thomson

SOURCE: LS, VHi; addressed below close "The Honble Henry Laurens_"; dated "Camp at the Congarees 6th. [*Se*]ptember 1775."; docketed "Collo. Thomson 6 Sept / 1775. Recd. 12 & Read / in Council 13th."; numbered "20-1".

FROM ARTHUR CLARKE[1]

Charles Town, September 9, 1775

Sir

As you gave me to understand the intention of my Summons before the Genel: Committee, was to know wether I chose to subscribe to the Association agreed to by this Province; I hope the following reasons will shew the impossibility of such a measure, without giving any Offence, which [*is the*][2] farthest from my wishes.

The first & principle consideration before the making a solemn Engagement like this, is how far we can in honor & Conscience comply with it, & how far it may be compatible or interfere with any previous Obligations.

These considerations duely taken; I find myself under such obligations to my King, whose Servant I have been for these 20

[1]Capt. Arthur Clarke of the brigantine *Diligence* had a government contract to carry mail between Jamaica, Pensacola and Charleston. *Naval Documents* (Clark), III, 788.
[2]Manuscript torn.

Years, whose Gratuity I now receive, & who I have allways found a kind & benevolent Master; the Solemn Oath I took upon receiving the Commission I am now honor'd with & under which I act; render it impossible for me to subscribe to this Association, without fixing the most indelible Stain upon my Character, & being guilty of the most heinous of Crimes, Ingratitude.

Further, Sir, I beg leave to represent that having no property in the Province & my duty calling me another way, induc'd me to flatter myself the Gentlemen wou'd have consider'd me as a Transient Person, and not have thought it necessary to make such a request: in order to which I have actually given up the House I possess'd & had determin'd to proceed in the Line of my Duty; had not the greatest of misfortunes, the loss of a true Friend & Parent[3] alter'd my intention, & made me desirous of continuing in the Province, to be of all the Service & comfort in my power to his Family under so heavy an affliction.

I therefore hope, Sir, the General Committee will be satisfyed with these reasons, & not consider them as proceeding from any disregard to this Province, which to the contrary, I ever respected; & so far from wishing that any part of his Maj's: Dominions may be depriv'd of the blessing of the British Constitution. [*I*] sincerely hope every Member of them may enjoy it in it's fullest plenitude, and that the present unhappy situation of Affairs may be speedily brought to a reconciliation that shall establish harmony among all his Maj's: Subjects; and restore that mutual confidence between Great Britain & her Colonies that before subsisted.

As the Packet is under sailing orders, & my future Conduct depends upon the determination of the General Committee on these Sentiments, I request your earliest representation of them,[4] & am with respect

Sir

Yr: Most Obedt: Humle: Sert:
Arthur Clarke

[3]George Inglis, the father of Clarke's wife Catherine, died Sept. 6, 1775. *SCHM*, X (1909), 222; XI (1910), 102.
[4]HL presented Clarke's letter to the General Committee on September 13 and the Committee resolved to treat Clarke as a "transient person". HL to Arthur Clarke, Sept. 13, 1775, HL Papers, ScHi. The *Diligence*, Clarke, sailed for Jamaica between September 15 and September 22. *S.C. General Gazette*, Sept. 8, Sept. 15, Sept. 22, 1775.

notification thereof ↑which is greedily desired,↓ and to prevent erroneous copies; but that they be published in England for this reason, they will shew that no part of the People of this Colony are even unfriendly to the designs of Congress; that none of the People will encourage any person even by word to condemn our proceedings, that all offenders shall be delivered up to punishment; that no part of the people will even hold any communication with the Kings troops. All this will be in direct contradiction to the Governors representation of the meritorious conduct & zeal of Fletchals people for the Kings service. And for all this to appear is of infinite importance; and infinitely preferable to our having put a part of those people to the Sword; which would not only have lain the foundation for lasting animosities, but would convince the administration that the Governors representations were true, that ~~the Kings~~ there was a strong party here against the Congress, & all which would invite them to send a strong body of Troops here; & that very early.

I now hear that all Cunninghams Party are dispersed. I begun this letter in the morning, & I am now writing by the light of light wood; and yet I have lost no time in proceeding with my letter. To morrow I shall discharge the Militia. Today I returned the army public thanks— they are really a fine body of Men.

I inclose a letter from Mr Wilkinson— I mean to stay here with the Rangers some days to watch the consequences of the violence mentioned in that letter.[3] In the mean time I shall tomorrow send off a company of Rangers, in order to quiet the fears of the People above, but with orders not to advance any thing near the Indian line. I have not yet seen Paris & his Indians, but I expect to see them in a few days, after which I shall return to Charles Town— I have sent a letter to Wilkinson assuring him that all possible enquiry shall be made to find the offenders against the Indians, and that justice shall be done.

I have the Honor to be
Gentlemen, Your most obd- Servt-
Wm Hy- Drayton.

SOURCE: ALS, Gibbes Collection, ScA; addressed above salutation "To The Honourable The Council of Safety"; dated below close "Camp near ninety six / Sepr- 17. 1775."; docketed by HL "Wm- Hy- Drayton / 17 Septem 1775— / Recd- & Read in Council / 24th- / in GC. 25th- / Answd- 27th- / Refered by ~~Gen Com~~ / Council of Safety to Gen / Committee with"; numbered "25-2".

public enemies, all and every person in arms, or to be in arms . . . in opposition to the measures of Congress." The declaration was printed in the *S.C. Gazette*, Oct. 17, 1775, and also in separate handbills. For a copy from the printed circulars, see Gibbes, *Documentary History*, I, 180–182.

[3]On September 12, four Cherokee Indians were attacked by whites "near the Buffaloe Lick on the new ceded lands in Georgia." One was killed, two were wounded, and the fourth, unhurt, "set up the war-hoop . . . upon which the white people ran off." Three brothers named Cloud were arrested for the crime and imprisoned in Georgia. "Intelligence from Alexander Cameron," Nov. 8, 1775, *Documents of the American Revolution* (Davies), XI, 177.

FROM ALEXANDER GARDEN

Charles Town, September 17, 1775

Dr Sir

I have just now received a Note from on Board the Tamar informing me of the Governor's being taken very ill last night & that he continues so now & that he desires me to Visit him.—

Whether my visiting of him on board the Man of War may give offence in the present posture & situation of matters I know not, but as I could wish to give him Every assistance in my power to promote his recovery so I would be very unwilling to give any reason of offence to the Community— Permit me therefore Sir to beg your opinion on this matter & if you think I may go I shall endeavour to see him either to night or to morrow morning tho I am but in a very weak state myself. In the mean time I am respectfully

Your's
Alexr- Garden

SOURCE: ALS, Personal Miscellaneous, Alexander Garden, NN; addressed on cover "To / Henry Laurens Esquire"; dated "Septr 17th 1775"; docketed by HL "Doctr- Garden 17 Septem / 1775 for leave to visit / the Governor granted"; numbered "21-8".

SOURCE: LS, HL Papers, ScHi; no address; dated "Little River October 23d: 1775_"; docketed by HL "Commee Little_ / River 23 Octob 1775 / Reported upon / 10th. Nov.~ PM_"; endorsed "Committee. / Wm. Parker / Mr. Edwards / & / the Delegates of the / District"; numbered "21-39".

COUNCIL OF SAFETY TO SAXE GOTHA COMMITTEE[1]

Charles Town, October 24, 1775

Gentlemen_

The affairs of this Colony must be reduced to a very precarious Situation when the information of Mr. Lewis Dutarque & Ralph Humphreys is to Supercede the orders of those who are authorized & required to do every thing which Shall to them Seem needful & expedient for the defence Security & protection of this Colony_[2] how do you think public business can be conducted if the orders of Men properly authorized & who devote their whole time to public Service without fee or reward, are to be thus interrupted & impeded_

Mr. Lewis Dutarque was in the Council of Safety a very few days ago after he had come from the Congres_ he gave us no Such information as you Speak of, he has therefore either too hastily informed you or he has been extremely deficient in his Duty as an Officer & ~~illegible~~ an Associate, by failing ~~deficient in his Duty~~ to

[1]The Saxe Gotha Committee was composed of: William Arthur (d. 1785), a native of Virginia and a former Regulator, who represented the district in the Provincial Congresses and the General Assembly (1776–1784); William Goodwin; Jacob Richmond, a physician who settled in the area in the early 1770s, represented Saxe Gotha in the Second Provincial Congress and the General Assembly (1776, 1782); and Ralph Humphries, a tavernkeeper at the Congarees, who also represented the district at the Second Provincial Congress and in the General Assembly (1776–1780). *Directory of the S.C. House*, III, 43, 358–359, 608; *Directory of the S.C. Senate*, p. 174.

[2]The powder promised to the Cherokees by William Henry Drayton and voted by the Council of Safety October 4, was stopped at the Congarees by citizens who feared that the Council of Safety planned to employ the Indians against settlers who had not adhered to the patriot cause. Ralph Humphries and Lt. Lewis Dutarque of the 5th company of Rangers under Col. William Thomson may have been influenced by Richard Pearis. Pearis had decided about this time to bolt from and discredit the patriot cause. He told the people of the Congarees that Drayton, acting as the agent of Charleston, would use the powder to disrupt the backcountry. Drayton, *Memoirs*, II, 64; Richard Pearis's Affidavit, Nov. 11, 1775, Kendall Collection.

lay before us, intelligence of Such vast importance_ We Should have hoped that you would have forwarded the execution of the Council of Safety's Orders & we hope you will do so upon receipt hereof_ be assured we act upon good grounds & have nothing else in view but the public welfare_

By order of the Council of Safety

We desire you will do your endeavours to forward the Waggon with Safety & order the Waggoner to deliver the Letter directed to Mr. Wilkinson to Mr. Pearis as we Suppose Mr. Wilkinson will be gone from Keowee to attend his Duty at Salisbury_ We have ordered an escort of Rangers to conduct the Waggon & request your assistance if needful_

SOURCE: Copy, HL Papers, ScHi; addressed below close "Messrs. William Arther / William Goodwin / Jacob Richman / Ralph Humphreys_ / at Congree_"; dated "Charles Town. 24. October 1775"; docketed "Copy 24. Octobr. 1775 / To Messr. Arther / Goodwin / Richman / & Humphreys".

TO LACHLAN McINTOSH

Charles Town, October 24, 1775

Dear Sir_

Reports fly fast but not always upon the Wings of truth_ this consideration founded upon that of your friendShip for me has induced me to trouble you with the papers inclosed_ the expence of postage you must put to my Account_ If the public will Spare me from President & Chairmanship after the 1st. Novemr. as they have promised & as in humanity they ought to do I Shall See you before the end of that Month_

In the mean time I beg of you to desire Mr. Bailey (I have not time to write to him) to Send me a full & circumstantial account of all my affairs.

SOURCE: LB, HL Papers, ScHi; addressed "Lach McIntosh / Georgia"; dated "24. October. 1775".

[redacted]

[1]On Oct. 25, 1775, HL directed William Thomson to "order an Officer's Guard immediately to escort & protect the Waggon & to See that the powder & Ball are Safely delivered to Mr. Richd. Pearis." The task was undertaken by "Lieut. Col. Charleton and Mr. Uriah Goodwin, a cadet, 2 sergeants and 18 privates." Council of Safety to William Thomson, Oct. 25, 1775, HL Papers, ScHi; Moultrie, *Memoirs*, I, 97; Drayton, *Memoirs*, II, 64.

[2]The notoriously dishonest Richard Pearis, jealous of Edward Wilkinson's appointment as an Indian Commissioner, apparently attempted to discredit him with the Council of Safety by questioning his loyalty to the American cause. On November 11, by which time he had joined the British, Pearis signed an affidavit in which he claimed that the Cherokees said "that Mr. Wilkinson was a Roague_ and Desir'd he Should be taken out

SOURCE: Copy, HL Papers, ScHi; addressed "Richard Pearis_"; dated "Charles Town 29. October 1775"; docketed "Copy 24th. Octobr. 1775 / To Richd. Pearis"; also docketed "Copies to be Entered_".

[redacted]

SOURCE: Copy, HL Papers, ScHi; addressed below close "Edward Wilkinson Esqr._"; dated "Charles Town. 24. Octobr. 1775."; docketed "Copy 24th. Octobr. 1775. / To E. Wilkinson".

of the Nation." Drayton, *Memoirs*, II, 116–117; Richard Pearis's Affidavit, Nov. 11, 1775, Kendall Collection.

[1]Galphin joined John Walker, Willie Jones, and Robert Rae at the Indian Commissioners' meeting. Wilkinson, who had decided to remain at Keowee until the ammunition arrived for the Cherokees, did not leave for Salisbury until November 8, and arrived after the meeting's November 13 conclusion. Edward Wilkinson to Andrew Williamson, Nov. 7, 1775, Kendall Collection; Report and Resolutions of the Indian Commissioners for the Southern Department, Nov. 13, 1775, Kendall Collection; George Galphin to the Council of Safety, Dec. 9, 1775, Kendall Collection.

COUNCIL OF SAFETY TO UNKNOWN

Charles Town, October 27, 1775

In Answer to your Letter of the 23d. Inst. we must inform you that as we know of no Authority vested in you for taking ~~Arms & Ammunition or any other~~ private Property from ~~Colonel Parsons's or~~ any ~~other~~ Plantation under the direction & charge of a White person, we cannot forbear ~~therefore~~ signifying our disapprobation of your taking from Colonel Parsons's Plantation[1] the Guns & other articles subjoined to your said Letter_ if we were to countenance such unwarrantable & dangerous proceeding_ your property & the property of every Man in the Country would be exposed to the ravages of Lawless Men_ were we to give any order upon this occasion it would be to make restitution immediately to Colonel Parsons however we will venture to advise ↑you↓ to do so & to give that Gentleman all reasonable satisfaction_

By order of the Council of Safety_
HL

SOURCE: ADraftS, S.C. Council of Safety Papers, 1775–1779, NN; no address; dated "In the Council of Safety / 27th. October 1775_". An earlier draft, in William Henry Drayton's hand, undated and unaddressed, is on the verso.

COUNCIL OF SAFETY TO EDWARD THORNBROUGH

Charles Town, October 28, 1775

Sir.

We have received information that a Negro Man ~~Slave~~ named Shadwell, ~~a Pilot~~ ↑a Mariner by profession,↓ ~~&~~ the property of John Allen Walters Esqr- is employed ~~& dela~~ on board ~~the~~ ↑His Majestys Sloop↓ Tamar under your command.

[1]Probably Col. James Parsons, a member of the Council of Safety. Included in Parsons's vast holdings were two plantations, Winnoes and Kilkenny, in St. Paul parish, and six plantations, Duharrow, Litchfield, Tipperary, Cashell, Desmond, and Youghall, in St. Bartholomew parish. It is not clear which plantation was involved. *Directory of the S.C. House*, II, 508–510.

As ~~this Slave~~ ↑the said Negro↓[1] is a runaway ~~& may have offered his service as a Free negro~~, & as ~~the~~ harbouring ~~such Person~~ ↑him↓ is highly penal & the carrying such a one off the Colony Felony by the laws of this Country. circumstances of which you may not be apprised we think it ~~is~~ necessary to ~~lay this before you~~ ↑give you this intimation↓, in order that the Negro may be delivered to his lawful owner.

we would not be ↑mis↓understood as insinuating that you Sir, give any encouragement for Slaves to leave their Masters, we reasonably conclude ↑that↓ this Negro if[2] ~~may have~~ ↑he is on board the Tamar has↓ imposed himself upon you as a Freeman: & ↑Therefore↓ we doubt not ~~Sir~~ ↑if our information is true_↓ but ↑that↓ you will cause him to be delivered up.[3] to Mr J C.[4] the bearer of this Letter

By order

200 ↑able bodied Seamen↓_ upon their arrival Wages to commence a £3 ⅌ Mo.[5]

Mr- Calvert being called informed the Board that Captain Thornbrough appeared angry at the contents of the letter, & declared his astonishment & concern that any Gentleman could Suspect that any runaway Negro could be on board his Sloop, & ~~also~~ assured ~~Mr- Calvert~~ ↑him↓ that no such or any Negro but one whom he shewed him ↑& ↑who↓ belonged to the Schooner ~~under his ?~~ late Messrs. Stone & Duvales↓ was on board. ~~Then~~ Capt. Thorn. retained ~~the~~ him until he returned from on board the Cherokee where he went to show the letter to the Governor, when he discharged him telling him that when he should have fully considered the letter he would send an answer[6]

[1]The draft is in William Henry Drayton's hand but all of the interlineations from this point are in HL's hand.

[2]HL inserted the word "if" at the end of the line.

[3]HL added the rest of the sentence.

[4]John Calvert, a Charleston bookkeeper, commission merchant, and brewer, had been active in the Revolutionary movement since the Stamp Act. He served as a messenger for the Council of Safety and later for the privy council of the General Assembly. *Collections, SCHS*, III, 40, 57–58; *Journals of S.C. General Assembly, 1776–1780*, p. 98; *HL Papers*, IV, 10n, 511n.

[5]Note after close in HL's hand.

[6]Note on verso in Drayton's hand. On November 3, Drayton, who had succeeded HL as president of the Provincial Congress, addressed a letter to the naval officer asking

SOURCE: Draft, S.C. Council of Safety Papers, 1775–1779, NN; addressed above salutation "To Edward Thornbrough Esqr.". Although the draft is not dated the following placeline is given, "In the Council of Safety.". The letter is printed under date of October 28 in the *S.C. Gazette*, November 7, 1775.

COUNCIL OF SAFETY TO EDWARD WILKINSON

Charles Town, October 29, 1775

We have just received and taken under our consideration your letter of the twentyeth instant, and we thank you for the intelligence contained in it

Mr Pearis had some days before intimated to us what passed between Mr Cameron & the Cherokees We shall only observe to you, that when Mr Cameron in his talk to the Indians "that but for the Care of the Great King &^ca they could not have had a foot of land left them by the white" Your silence was a Tacit Confirmation of a Short Charge against us comprehending every thing that could or can be said to render us odious in the sight of the Indians

We do not expect to find you at Keeowee with this and therefore will not enlarge, but if it shall so happen that you have been detained, We desire you will use your utmost endeavours to the latest hour of your being there & all future opportunities to erradicate the belief of such pernicious doctrines as Mr Cameron has impressed upon the hearts of those People_ He may pretend what Friendship he pleases for us but as he could not have said more to undo us if his Speech had been Continued from the rising to the Setting of the Sun than is contained in the few words above recited, & if he should write volumns, and make 20 affidavits in prooff of his pretended neutrality we should not believe him_ he has affoarded us too much reason to say we are sure that whenever it shall be thought proper by his Employers to order the Cherokees to fall upon and murder our Frontier Inhabitants Man Woman & Children he will be found a ready & active Instrument for promoting & Carrying into execution the Charit[*able*] Measure, We Referr you to a Particular Instructio[*n*] by the Continentall Congress, towards Such Men Which we take this occasion to recommend to [*the*] Consideration of the Board of Commissioners at Salisbury; By Order of the Councill of Safety

Signed H. Lawrence President

why he had not answered the letter of October 28 after having "promised a written answer to that letter" in the verbal reply carried by John Calvert. The next day Thornbrough responded, in a letter to Drayton, "after consideraton, I did not think Mr. Laurens's letter worthy a written answer, as I never directly or indirectly harboured the run-away slave of any person." *Journals of S.C. Provincial Congress*, pp. 85–86, 88–90, 93–94.

SOURCE: Copy, CO 5/77, PRO; addressed below close "Edward Wilkinson Esqr–"; dated "Charlestown 29th- October 1775–"; docketed "Copy Letter / Henry Lawrence to / Edward Wilkinson / 29th. October 1775 / In Mr Stuarts' (N°. 34) / of 8th. Jānry 1776. / (6)".

FROM EDWARD THORNBROUGH[1]

Tamar, November 1, 1775

SIR,

THE many unprovoked Insults the King's Servants in this Province have received, from those *Assemblies* who have had the Hardiness to assume the Reins of Government, are too numerous, and too well known, to make it necessary for me to mention them. I will confine myself entirely to what relates to my own Department, and the Trust reposed in me.

I therefore address you, Sir, as a principal Actor in the Measures now adopted, and desire you will acquaint your Associates, and all others whom it may concern, that if his Majesty's Agents in Charles-Town, are not permitted regularly, and without Molesta-

[1]HL found this letter "at his house last night, addressed to himself," but upon opening it discovered it "to be of a public nature." He delivered it with "all the letters, papers, &c. which had come into his hands, as President of the late Congress, President of the Council of Safety, and the Chairman of the General Committee" to the newly elected Provincial Congress. William Henry Drayton, as the President of the Second Provincial Congress, responded to Thornbrough's letter on November 3. *Journals of S.C. Provincial Congress*, pp. 85, 88–90. The reverse of this problem occurred in late November, after the first session of the Second Provincial Congress adjourned, when letters addressed to William Henry Drayton as the President of the Provincial Congress were forwarded to HL. Andrew Williamson to William Henry Drayton, Nov. 27, 1775, Kendall Collection.

Execution was the cause we apprehend & have been informed ~~was the cause~~ of removing those Ships out of our harbour— we have received certain information that every one of them carried off some of our Negroes, in the whole amounting to no inconsiderable number— this will be sufficient to alarm every Man in the Colony & put those on the Sea Coast & River sides more particularly on their guard— ~~illegible~~ these robberies & depredations ↑are↓ sufficient to warrant our firing upon any of the Men of War ~~& upon any of~~ their Boats & Men in attempting to Land— but we think it necessary that a hint should be given to ~~all people~~ ↑Officers & Men↓ to be careful not to throw away their Powder & ammunition by firing too hastily or too soon

We shall desire Colonel Moultrie to dispense with further absence of Lieuten^t. Doharty,[2] you may therefore detain him in his present station or such other as you shall judge will be for public service ↑till the Men of War remove from your Neighbourhood↓ & every reasonable attempt ought to be made for keeping the Militia in good humour & encouraging them to act with spirit.

By order &c—

SOURCE: ACopy, HL Papers, ScHi; addressed below close "Colonel Bull"; dated "Charles Town ↑20th.↓ January 1776."; docketed "Copy 20th. Jany 1776 / To Coll^o. Bull".

TO RICHARD RICHARDSON

Charles Town, January 20, 1776

Sir—Your favour of the 16th this minute reached us. A few hours before, we had received an express informing us of the arrival of eight sail of vessels at Cockspur, three of which were certainly men-of-war, one of them very large, probably two others the Tamer and Cherokee. Yesterday a scooner and smaller boat were sailing to and fro the entrance to this harbour, and even coming very near to Sullivan's Island and Cumming's Point, evidently proving them to be vessels sent for reconnoitering. We therefore have all the reason which the nature of the case will admit of, for expecting a visit from those

[2]James Doharty (Dogharty, Dougharty). *HL Papers*, X, 233n.

ships, when wind and weather permits. We are going on preparing for defence; five capital guns are mounted at Sullivan's Island; we intend to add more, but we are really in want of the assistance of good men from the country, such especially as are expert in handling the rifle. We therefore dispatch the messenger again, to acquaint you with our circumstances, and to guard against the effect which might arise from flying reports that the men-of-war were gone away.

We are well assured of your zeal, and place the greatest confidence in your indeavours to serve the public upon the present occasion. Robert Cunningham has petitioned for a hearing. We have some hopes, he will make such propositions as we may with honour to ourselves and safety to the public accept and receive him and some other of the unfortunate men under his influence.

By order of the Council of Safety.

HENRY LAURENS, President.

SOURCE: Printed in *Collections, SCHS*, III, 202–203; addressed "Col. Richardson."; dated "Charles-Town, Jan. 20th, 1776.".

PETITION FROM BACKCOUNTRY PRISONERS[1]

January 20, 1776[2]

We The Subscribers Humbly Sheweth, that whereas there has Been Deversity of Oppinions, and Disturbances, in the Frontier parts of this province— Which grieves us to heart that we ever Should have Been at Varience, with our Countrymen, and good Neighbours *Hon: Gentlemen*— We Therefore, find the Greatest Freedom, to Enter into any Honourable Terms of Unity, to preserve the peace in this Disturbed province,[3] and the peace of good Neighbourhood, *Gentlemen*— We Your Hum-

[1]These petitioners were backcountry men captured by Col. Richard Richardson during the "Snow Campaign" of December 1775 and sent by him to Charleston. *HL Papers*, X, 614; *Documentary History* (Gibbes), I, 249–253.

[2]The petition is not dated. The editors have dated it on the basis of a report in the Journal of the Council of Safety that a petition from Robert Cunningham, Thomas Fletchall and others was read Jan. 20, 1776. *Collections, SCHS*, III, 202.

[3]The comma is written over a dash.

Pearis Robert (X 348) 52, 72

230 (231) 462, 526

Roark (Ames) X 567, 52

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50-3 (72) 228-31 462

526

Post-it Note

Post-it Note

ble Petitioners here in Common Goal, a Few of Whom You Do Call Leading persons of the Party that was Ag[*ain*]st you,[4] And According to Your Honourable Articles that [*may*] be Agreed on— we shall on any Forfeit Promise to Endea[*v*]our to Settle Peace to Your Satisfaction, And the Unity of the Different Settlements, in the Frontiers *Gentlemen*— We Wait With Leisure on Your Call And Forsodoing it will be Always Esteemed by us Your Humble Petitioners.—[5]

N.B. there is Different Circumstances Amongst us, Which we Make No Doubt But Your Honours will Know by Subscription—

Robt. Cunningham
John Mayfield
Ja^s. Lindle

Thos. Fletchall	David Rees	Matt Floyd
	henry Green	William Hunt
Benjn. Wofford	Jeremiah Ward	Jacob Bowman
Rich^d. Pearis	Thomas Wisdom	Robt. Parris—
	Robert Procter	George Neelly
Henery Centerful	Henry Citeman	David George
Henery Goff	William Burges	David McDavid
John Goff	John McWilliams	Jacob Fry
	Philip Wells	Grady Ziebard
	Ja^s Davis—	Jo^s. Alexander
	Wittenhall Warner	Daniel Jones
	Adams Pardue	Elisha Robinson

SOURCE: DS, Kendall Collection; addressed on cover "Petition / To / The Hon: / Council of Safety"; addressed above text "To Henry Laurance Esqr. President / & the Rest of the Honourable Council of Safety"; no date; docketed by HL "Petition of Robt. Cunningham & others. Received 20 January 1776 & Read—".

Note: originally I assumed that this Robert Pearis was Richbison's but now I think it was his brother Richard. George Neely was Richb's "a-law" viz his only sister. [illegible]

[4]The leading persons among these petitioners were Thomas Fletchall, Benjamin Wofford, Richard Pearis, and Robert Cunningham.

[5]There is an unidentifiable punctuation mark here.

TO GEORGETOWN COMMITTEE

Charles Town, January 23, 1776

Gentlemen

On the 18th. your favour of the 16th. was laid before us— we thank you for your endeavours to encourage Volunteer Companies to repair to this port & for your attention to the article of Gun powder— we wait your further advices on the latter— the Men of War which appeared before Charles Town on the 12. 13. & 14th. Ins^t. are probably part of a Fleet of 8 Sail of Vessels— Viz^t. 6 Ships, three Said to be Men of War one of them very large— & one dismasted Vessel towed in by a Schooner, which went over Tybee Bar & Anchored at Cockspur the 16th.,[1] advice of which we received from Lieutenant Dohorty Stationed with a party at Hilton head— we have a Letter from a Member of the Council of Safety at Savanna dated the 18th.[2] but cannot yet learn a certain Account of the names number of force of the Ships of War— we conjecture that an augmentation was intended to the Tamar & Cherokees, but advices having been given by Some of our Secret ↑Friends↓ from Shoar, the Ships which were at Anchor weighed & followed those Vessels, found them on the Coast & the Wind continuing Northerly the whole went in to Tybee & will therelye till they can get Supplies of provision & perhaps refit the Crippled Ship, which is Supposed to be a Transport.— we may expect a Visit from them as Soon as they are capable of Moving in the mean time we are going forward with necessary works for repelling an attack.—

The Congress in the late Session Ordered Three hundred Weight of Gun powder to be Issued for the use of S^t. David's—[3] the Order was brought to us yesterday under many

[1]Edward Thornbrough, on Jan. 16, 1776, recorded in the journal of the sloop *Tamar* that his vessel "at 9 AM weigh'd & came to Sail in Co with the *Syron, Raven, Cherokee, Sandwich Packet, Polly* Schooner, & *Raven*'s Prize" (the *Rittenhouse*), and that at 4 p.m. they began working their way over the Tybee bar. The "dismasted vessel towed in by a Schooner" may have been a transport. *Naval Documents* (Clark), III, 830, 840.

[2]Archibald Bulloch's letter dated Savannah, Jan. 18, 1776, was read in the Council of Safety January 23. *Collections, SCHS*, III, 210.

[3]On Nov. 28, 1775, the Provincial Congress ordered, "That three hundred pounds weight of gun-powder be delivered, out of the public stock reserved for the inland defence of this colony, to the order of the Committee of St. David's parish, to be distributed amongst such of the men in Col. Powell's regiment as are unprovided, to be by them reserved for public uses only." *Journals of S.C. Provincial Congress*, p. 161.

tance here from an assurance of being attacked by those Vessels immediately after they are victualled & refitted.

there are now about 200. of the Neighbouring Militia & 100. of Colonel Thomson's Rangers on duty in Charles Town these will be relieved by a body of Rifle-Men from Coll^o. Richardson's Regiment now on their March downward— we hope that Corp will not be quite so fluctuating as Some others have been it is uncertain when the attack will be made, it is necessary therefore that we Should have a Standing Corp in continual readiness to repel.

We approve of the measures which you have taken for apprehending— P Cunningham. Robinson & Brown[3] & will pay the Reward when properly claimed— R Cunningham & Col^o. Fletchal are extremely anxious to be enlarged upon promises of the Strictest neutrality & inoffensive behaviour, we must refer the consideration of their proposals to the Congress— as to Pearis every Account we receive marks his conduct as more & more Criminal.

Coll^o. Richardson in his general Report did you Justice & we repeat our thanks for your Services in the expedition under his Command.

We desire you will augment the number of Militia now on Duty in Fort Charlotte to the full number of Militia & Rangers which are there at present & put them under the Command of an Officer in whom you can confide, particular regard Should also be had to the Characters of the privates, when this order is carried into effect, Capt Caldwell will withdraw the Rangers & March to Charles Town, we therefore recommend it to immediate execution.[4]

M^r. Bowie may rely upon our endeavours to obtain for him a Company upon the establishment in Colony pay, by appointment of Congress, the power of this Board does not

[3]For Loyalists Patrick Cunningham, Joseph Robinson and Thomas Brown see *HL Papers*, X, 241n, 291n, 387n.

[4]Capt. John Caldwell was ordered to return to Fort Charlotte on January 27 and to remain until the number of incoming militiamen equalled the number of rangers in his company. It appears that he went next to Dorchester and was ordered thence to Fort Lyttelton where he was stationed by March 18. *HL Papers*, X, 245n; *Collections, SCHS*, III, 225–226; Journal of Council of Safety, March 20, 1776, NN.

One of Robert Pearis's daughters married Cunningham.

extend beyond the limits which we formerly described.[5]

Capt Caldwell has presented to us an Account for work done at the Fort by certain ~~illegible~~ Carpenters in which the charges appear to be extremely high & the Captain has nothing to Say in Support of them & declares himSelf a bad judge of Such matters— the Account moreover is neither Certified nor attested we therefore [take the liberty] of [enclosing it under] this Cover & we desire you will cause a proper enquiry to be made & give us the needful information—

By order of the Council of Safety

SOURCE: Copy, HL Papers, ScHi; addressed below close "Major Williamson"; dated "Charles Town 25th. Jany 1776."; letter filed with others as indicated in docket "Copy 25th. Jany 1776. / To Major Williamson / & John Bowie".

TO BEAUFORT COMMITTEE

Charles Town, January 27, 1776

Gentlemen

We have been pressingly called upon by the Congress at Savanna for a return of Gun powder which we Some time ago received from that Colony— & accordingly have now put into a Small pettiauga a quantity packed in Seven tight Rum puncheons— Capt. McDonald[1] is going in the Same Boat & will See it Safely delivered either at Savanna if you think it may go all the way Safely by Water otherwise to Such place as you may advise to have it Landed at— the danger of crossing Savanna may be great while the Men of War lie in the River— we apprehend if it was Sent to M^r. Brisbans Landing[2] at New River & thence in a Waggon to purysburg would be least liable to

[5]John Bowie received a company in the Fifth Regiment under Col. Isaac Huger. On March 26, 1776, he was given command of Fort Charlotte. *HL Papers*, X, 224n; *Collections, SCHS*, III, 271; Journal of Council of Safety, March 26, 1776, NN.

[1]Capt. Adam McDonald (d. 1778) of the First Regiment was a planter in St. Stephens parish. He represented Prince Frederick parish in the Provincial Congress (1775) and was promoted to major in September 1776. *HL Papers*, X, 386n; *Directory of the S.C. House*, III, 455–456.

[2]Probably the landing at William Alexander Brisbane's plantation near the New River bridge not far from Purysburg.

not lost all inclination for renewing our ↑former↓ connexion with your King & his Ministers, however that might have been, the great point is now settled— On the 2d Inst— a Courier arrived from Philadelphia & brought a Declaration of the 4th July by the Representatives of the 13 United Colonies in Congress met, that from thenceforward those Colonies should be "Free & Independent States." You have no doubt seen the Paper or will in a few days see a Copy often repeated at full length, therefore I need not mark the particular Contents— this Declaration was proclaimed in Charles Town with great Solemnity on Monday the 5th Inst. attended by a Procession of President, Councils, Generals Members of Assembly Officers Civil & Military &ca. &ca. amidst loud acclamations of Thousands who always huzza when a Proclamation is Read—[8] to many, who from the Rashness Impolicy & Cruelty of the British Administration had foreseen this Event— the scene was Serious Important & Awful.— even at this Moment I feel a Tear of affection for the good old Country & for the People in it whom in general I dearly Love.— there I saw that Sword of State which I had before seen four several Times unsheathed in Declarations of War against France & Spain by the Georges now unsheathed & borne in ↑a↓ Declaration of War against George the third— I say even at this Moment my heart is full of the lively sensations of a dutiful Son, thrust by the hand of violence out of a Father's House into the wide World. what I have often with truth averred in London & Westminster I dare still aver, not a sober Man & scarcely a single Man in America wished for seperation from Great Britain. Your King too, I feel for, he has been greatly deceived & abused.

Soon after the Men of War had Anchored within our Bar alarming Accounts were brought of new attempts by John Stuart Henry Stuart Alexr. Cameron & other Ministerial Agents to stir up the Savage Indians to attack our Western frontier, several Intercepted Letters from them confirmed the

[8]On August 5, after the procession to the Liberty Tree, the Declaration was read to all assembled by Maj. Barnard Elliott. Because the General Assembly was not in session from April 11 to September 16 the Declaration was not adopted by South Carolina until September 20. Drayton, *Memoirs*, II, 315; *Journals of S.C. General Assembly, 1776–1780*, pp. 67–68.

Reports—[9] the Indians & particularly the Cherokees had amused us by the most flattering Talks, full of assurances of friendship & promises to follow our advice which always had been that they should observe a strict neutrality— but very suddenly, without any pretence to Provocation those treacherous Devils in various Parties headed by White Men & pushed on by those who are in employment for this cruel purpose, made an Inroad upon our settlements burned several Houses & Murdered about sixty Persons chiefly Women & Children Colo. Aw. Williamson in South,[10] Brigadier Rutherford in North Carolina[11] were immediately in Arms & a large Command marched from Virginia what Rutherford & the Virginia Troops have done we are not yet informed but Colonel Williamson & his parties have driven back the Savages of the lower Towns killed as many as could be come at ↑in fight↓ & taken some Prisoners among whom are no less than 15 White Men, they have also destroyed Sennecca, Keowee, Warrachy, Estatohee, Toxawa & Sugar Town together with the Crops of Corn & other grain found in fields & Barns, the only possible way of reducing the Barbarians, this Intelligence comes from Colo. Williamson in late Letters, If the Virginians act their part well the Cherokees will soon be reduced to the utmost distress & may possibly turn their vengeance against those hellish

[9]Possibly the most widely circulated of these intercepted letters was Deputy Indian Superintendent Henry Stuart's May 19, 1776, warning to the frontier settlers on the Watauga and Nolichucky rivers in present-day Tennessee. He informed them that their families would be protected from the Indians if they would "subscribe a written paper acknowledging their allegiance to his Majesty King *George*, and that they are ready and willing, whenever called upon, to appear in arms in defence of the *British* right in *America*." He warned that British troops would be immediately landing in West Florida to march north with Creek and Chickasaw warriors and at the same time royal forces would make a diversion on the coast. Force, *American Archives*, 4th ser., VI, 1228–1230, 1554; O'Donnell, *Southern Indians*, pp. 37–38; *Delegate Letters* (Smith), IV, 264n.

[10]Andrew Williamson (ca. 1730–1786), a veteran of the 1761 Cherokee expedition and the Snow Campaign of late 1775, headed a force of between 1,100 and 1,800 men composed of militia, continentals and Catawba scouts. He began the South Carolina offensive against the Cherokees in late July and with the North Carolina forces under Brig. Gen. Griffith Rutherford removed the Indian threat from the Carolina backcountry by early October. *HL Papers*, IV, 70n; O'Donnell, *Southern Indians*, pp. 44–47.

[11]Griffith Rutherford (d. 1799) had been appointed brigadier general of the North Carolina militia for Salisbury District on May 4, 1776. *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, X, 563.

nor can all indication for revealing our treasure connection with your King & his Ministers. Be sure that all is done be the great point is now settled. On the 4th Inst. a Courier arrived from Philadelphia & brought a Declaration of the 4th Inst. by the Representatives of the 13 United Colonies in Congress met, that from that time those Colonies should be free & Independent States. We have no doubt soon the Paper we will in a few days see a Copy when reposed at full length, therefore I need not enter into particulars. Contents. This Declaration was proclaimed in Charles Town with great solemnity on Monday the 9th Inst. attended by a Procession of President, Council, General, Members of Assembly, Officers Civil & Military, &c. &c. amidst loud acclamations of a Throng who always have when a Proclamation is read. In many, who from the Balance Impartial & Cruelty of the British Administration had foreseen this Event, the scene was too Important & Awful. Even at this Moment I feel a Tear of affection for the good old Country & for the People in it where I spent I dearly love. there I saw that Sword or State which I had before seen four several Times unsheathed in Declarations of War against France & Spain by the Georges now unsheathed & borne in our Declaration of War against George the third. I say even at this Moment my heart is full of the lively sensations of a dutiful Son, that at by the hand of violence out of a Father's House into the wide World, which I have often with truth asserted in London & Westminster, I have all are, not a poor Man & scarcely a single Man in America wished for emancipation from Great Britain. Your King too, I feel for, he has been greatly deceived & abused.

Soon after the Day of War had displayed under our Ban assuming Authority, here brought of new attempts by John Stuart Henry Stuart, Alex. Cameron & other Administrative Agents to rise up the Savage Indians to attack our Western Frontier, & to impressed Slaves from their continents the

Instigators to this hellish War. at the Entrance of Senneca a new Town which I am told was very extensive on the Banks of Keowee, Colonel Williamson suffered from an ambuscade, his Horse by two Shot was killed under him. Mr. Salvador[12] a Gentleman whose Death is universally regretted was killed by his Side, eight Men wounded, two of whom are since dead.— he nevertheless rallied his Troops, attacked the Savages beat them out & after destroying a Town of near four Miles long Marched forward— he is undoubtedly a brave Man & not a bad General— you know his deficiency in Education, what heights might he have reached if he could have improved his Genius by Reading.— If we succeed against the Cherokees the Creeks & other Indians may continue to be simple Spectators of our contest with British Ships & Soldiers, otherwise we shall be attacked on all sides & greatly distressed. but Men here are fearless of distress & determined to maintain their Rights, trusting in a Righteous God for a happy Issue.

I told you in a former Letter of the dangerous Insurrections by thousands of the back Country People, these were suppressed by the vigilance & activity of Colo. Williamson in a first Instance & in a second & more formidable by Colo. Richardson & Troops from North Carolina— hundreds or more properly thousands were taken Prisoners, informed truly of the nature of the dispute[13] between Great Britain & the Colonies converted & sent to their habitations, about an hundred of their Colonels Captains & other Officers (from whence it appears the whole body was very large) were brought to Charles Town, these except 13 or 14 of the most tenacious soon confessed their errors united in the American Cause & also returned home—[14] of the 13 or 14. were some sensible Men

[12]Francis Salvador (ca. 1747–1776), a native of England, immigrated to South Carolina in 1773 and settled on 6,000 acres of land near the Saluda River. He represented Ninety Six District in the Provincial Congress (1775, 1775–1776) and the General Assembly (1776). He was serving with Col. Andrew Williamson when he was shot and scalped in a surprise attack on August 1. *Directory of the S.C. House*, III, 632.

[13]"p" written over "t".

[14]The General Assembly on April 11, 1776, recommended that fifteen prisoners from among the captured backcountry insurgents be excluded from the "declaration of pardon or amnesty". In addition to Robert Cunningham, they were: Henry O'Neal, Jacob Bowman, Thomas Fletchall, Patrick Cunningham, Richard Pearis, Elisha Robinson, Pinkothman Hawkins, James Alexander, Thomas Wisdom, Henry Green,

particularly their chief Colonel Robert Cunningham a Man of great honour, whose Conscience as he said fettered him in the Oath of allegiance although he admitted the injustice of Taxing Americans without their own Consent, & censured the British Administration; he often moved me while I was President of the Council of Safety & often since the President of the Colony to accept from him & his Companions an Oath of Neutrality, he would not at first believe that the British Administration were so wicked as to Instigate the Savages to War against us— as soon therefore as he was convinced of the truth his Conscience freed him from old obligations & he most heartily desired to take the Oath of fidelity to the United Colonies & to have an opportunity of giving proofs of his sincerity, his fellow Prisoners joined him in a Petition to the President & Council, who ordered the whole to be released— they immediately repaired to Colonel Williamson's Camp & offered their service but he considering their long absence from their several homes recommended to them the care of their families—[15] Not all however whom we have enlarged have continued faithful, some of the Common fellows have quoted the example of Sir James & broke their Parol— most of these are now among the Indians some of them have again been taken Prisoners & must suffer the Penalty of an old Law—[16]

Kirkland you may have heard made his Escape where he left his Son a Child of 10 or 12 Years old in Gaol— we know nothing of

Robert Proctor, William Dodgen, Stephen Prosser, and John Morgridge. *Journals of S.C. General Assembly, 1776–1780*, pp. 46, 47, 51, 54.

[15]Andrew Williamson reported to William Henry Drayton, on July 22, 1776, that "Robert Cunningham and Pearis, came to my camp; the former, on his arrival declared himself our fast friend—and that he came to stand and fall with us. I was sorry I could not show him the countenance I could have wished; owing to the people being so much exasperated at the behaviour of Hugh Brown and others, who have lately joined the Indians against us." Drayton, *Memoirs*, II, 366–367.

[16]A combined Loyalist-Cherokee force attacked Lindley's Fort July 15, 1776, but were repulsed. The patriot garrison pursued them and took thirteen white men prisoner to Ninety Six jail. Among these captured Loyalists were some men, including their leader Hugh Brown, who had been paroled earlier in the year. The public wished to see them hanged immediately for "having associated with Savages" and John Drayton noted that "it was thought by the best informed statesmen at that time, that the public would have received an essential piece of service, had they been all instantly hanged, by the right of martial law, and the law of nations. And that the same would have been consistent with justice, and policy." Drayton, *Memoirs*, II, 342–343.

The Speaker[28] has desired to transmit by this Conveyance to our Delegates the Resolution entered into Yesterday to Instruct them to oppose any proposition that may be made in Congress to sink by Continental Currency the money Issued by the different States. It was carried by a great Majority of at least 70 to 6. Mr. Lowndes[29] made the Motion & was seconded by Mr. Rutledge,[30] & supported by Mr. Chief Justice (Georgia Boils)[31]—Genl Gadsden, Thomas Ferguson[32] & Daniel Cannon[33] were in the opposition. We dont expect to sit above Eight or ten days longer. It is too warm to go upon the Constitution.

Richard Paris & John Lindlay[34] have again endeavored to enlist Men for the King. Williamson[35] has sent parties in pursuit of them. Eight or nine concerned in this treacherous Act are in Ninety Six Goal—it is hoped Paris & Lindlay will soon be added to the Number & meet with their just desert. You will excuse my Letter I have wrote in a great hurry. I have but few moments to myself—being almost dailey upon Committees.

Mrs. Gervais desires her Compliments to you & Mr. John Laurens. my best wishes attend you & him . . . .

[P.S.] James Parson Esq[36] who had been chosen Vice President by the Privy Council—was this day Elected by ballot of both houses.

Charles Town 16 Febr 1778

I had the pleasure to write to you the 26 & 30 Novm last by Mr. Upp the express. I wrote another Letter the 17th December last the day I set out for my plantation which I gave Mr Zimmerman the other Express expecting he would have been Dispatched before my return, but I found him here still, & here he continues—however he has notice to hold him-

[28] Thomas Bee.

[29] Rawlins Lowndes (1721-1800) was president of South Carolina, March 7, 1778-January 1779.

[30] Either Edward or Hugh Rutledge, brothers of John, both of whom were members of the assembly.

[31] William Henry Drayton was chief justice of S. C. The phrase "Geogia Boils" refers to Drayton's attempt to annex that state to S. C.

[32] Thomas Ferguson (d. 1786).

[33] Daniel Cannon, a carpenter, was leader of the mechanic class in Charleston.

[34] Richard Paris (also spelled Pearis) and John Lindley were backcountry leaders. J. B. O. Landrum, *Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina*, Greenville, 1897, pp. 62, 65, 75.

[35] Major Andrew Williamson of the S. C. militia was one of the wealthiest men in the Ninety-Six District.

[36] James Parsons (d. 1777).

Ve?

under Consideration an extraordinary motion of Mr Drayton (I am told at the request of Genl Gadsden) to enquire into the Nature of General How's Command in this State I dont know What can be said on the Subject it ~~is~~ seems a plain Case he is a Senior Officer I am not blinded by partiality, you knew Genl How is no favourite of mine—

The Speaker was desired to transmit by this Conveyance to our Delegates the Resolution entered into Yesterday to Instruct them to oppose any proposition that may be made in ~~the~~ Congress[6]— To Sink by Continental ~~Money~~ ↑Currency↓ the Money Issued by the different States.— It was carried by a great Majority of at least 70 to 6.— Mr Lowndes made the Motion & was Seconded by Mr Rutledge, & Supported by Mr Chief Justice (Georgia Boils)— Genl. Gadsden, Thomas Ferguson & Daniel Cannon were in the opposition— We dont expect to Sit above Eight or ten days longer— It is too warm to go upon the Constitution—

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Mrs. Gervais desire her Compliments to You & Mr John Laurens, my best wishes attend You & him & I am with a Sincere Attachment

Dear Sir
Your affectionate &
most obedt. humble Servt
John Lewis Gervais

[6]"Conti" altered to "Congress".

[7]In the summer of 1777 Richard Pearis tried to raise a company of Loyalists to go to Mobile in West Florida to join the British. One of their number gave them away, however; leading to the capture of some, who were taken to the Ninety Six jail on August 5. Pearis escaped and made his way to Mobile. "John Lindlay" may be Capt. James Lindley of Raeburns Creek, who had been an associate of Pearis. *The State Records of North Carolina, 1777–1790*, ed. Walter Clark (Vols. 12–26: Winston and Goldsboro, N.C., 1907), XXII, 181, 184–185.

James Parsons Esqr who had been chosen Vice President by the privy Council— was this day Elected by ballot of both houses.

SOURCE: ALS, John Lewis Gervais Collection, in private hands; no address; dated "Charles Town 16 August 1777".

TO JOSEPH CLAY

Philadelphia, August 20, 1777

I had determined to have done my Self the pleasure of giving you a general State of our public affairs in this Central part of the United Colonies but have been so much & so often interrupted I have not time by the present opportunity— I must therefore beg you will be referred to the News papers which I shall put under cover with this.—

Since my arrival here I have done every thing in my power to impress upon the mind of ~~illegible~~ Congress the value & importance of Georgia & to recommend it to their particular protection which your Delegate[1] will do me the justice to confirm— I apply in politics, St. Paul's remark, if one member Suffers all the Members Suffer[2] ~~illegible~~ the loss of Georgia or South Carolina or even their distress will be Sensibly felt by all the northern States.— I think this important truth has not hitherto been properly considered—

I moved for a Committee to take the State of Georgia into consideration this produced certain determinations of which you will be advised fully by Colo. Walton to whom I also took the liberty of mentioning your name for Dep pay Master General & you will find you are accordingly appointed— You must not refuse to Act, tis an Office honourable & genteel, an Office requiring the knowledge diligence & integrity of a Clay, therefore for your Country's Sake & for the honour of human nature I intreat you to act.— the Office of paymaster has too generally been an Office of plunder— your Accounts will Shew that there are Men who can act with accuracy & Strict justice even for the public— this will induce an endeavour upon every occasion to Seek for Such Men to Serve the public & counteract

[1]George Walton was the only Georgia delegate attending Congress at that time. *Delegate Letters* (Smith), VII, xv.

[2]I Corinthians 12:26.

here inclose Your Excellency will believe it could not have been greater.

Yesterday Congress was informed of the landing of 2000 Troops from Staten Island & New York at Elizabeth Town & this day Gen.~ Dickinson[4] has advised that the number landed there was 4000— in consequence of which he was that minute going to Assemble all the Militia who had been otherwise intended as auxiliaries to General Washington— we have also advise of nine Ships of War being as high up the River as Reedy Island— of a very dangerous plot concerted in this State & part a Neighbouring Colony extending from Fort Pitt to the Enemy's Army & that Some of the chief conspirators were apprehended & committed to Gaol.[5]

If Townes Evening post[6] comes abroad this Evening Your Excellency will find also inclosed an extraordinary history of Correspondence between the invincible Burgoyne & Gen.~ Gates[7] from whence it appears that our affairs are in a pleasing State in the Northern department.

All the Stores, Sick & wounded which had been removed hence to Trenton are now ordered to be carried to Bethleham— the New Frigates & Some other Navigation are as high at Burlington if the Enemy Should penetrate so high these will form funeral pyres.—

Other Frigates, Fire Ships & Wrafts Gallies Gondolois & Gun Boats are below what defence or destruction these will make is very uncertain but as Billings port is abandoned & Fort Island not in a full posture of defence, I am apprehensive the Enemy's fleet will meet with no great resistance from them— the land battle will decide their fate.

Gen~ Caudrie unfortunately drawned this Morning in

[4]Maj. Gen. Philemon Dickinson, commander of the New Jersey militia.

[5]This probably was the Sept. 6, 1777, deposition of William Beckworth and Adam Laughlin taken at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. They swore that they heard from reliable sources that men and supplies were being raised in Lancaster and York counties to assist the British. Daniel Shelley whom they accused of being a party to the plot was in custody. On September 15 the deposition was placed before Congress which agreed to cooperate with the state "in tracing said conspiracy." *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, V, 624–625, 628–629; *JCC*, VIII, 745–746.

[6]Benjamin Towne (d. 1793) was the editor of the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*. *DAB*.

[7]These letters were placed before Congress September 14 and referred to the Committee of Intelligence. *JCC*, VIII, 741; PCC, Item 154, I, 250, 256.

Schuylkill Baron du kalb yesterday appointed a Major General his Commission if he accepts to be dated one day anterior to that of Marquis delafayette who lies wounded in his Leg at Bristol where If I am obliged to run I mean to call for him—

We are drawn to an important Crisis— if we are blessed with Success, my ~~illegible~~ native Country will probably enjoy another Winter ummolested, on the contrary, She must expect a Severe attack before Christmas, it will be her wisdom to prepare immediately without hesitation or waiting for events to increase her honour & military fame.

I must now go through the weather to learn if any thing momentous has happened Since I came home & if necessary at my return a postscript Shall be added, mean time I beg leave to Salute Your Excellency with repeated assurances of being with respect Esteem &c

SOURCE: LB, HL Papers, ScHi; addressed "His Excellency John Rutledge / Charles Town"; dated "16th. Septem.~".

TO JOHN LEWIS GERVAIS

Philadelphia, September 18, 1777

Dear Sir.—

I had the pleasure of writing to you two or three days ago by favor of Colonel Horry,[1] this will inclose a couple of News Papers if any thing contained in them valuable to Mr. Wells be so good as to communicate & tell him I have never missed one opportunity of Sending News papers to him directly or through you—

I have written fully in general terms to the president who will let you know what I have Said if worth hearing perhaps Letters by express ten days hence will make my intelligence Stale.

All our affairs are undoubtedly in a better appearance than they were three days ago— but fright has driven Some great Men to do precipitantly what I Strongly urged as neces-

[1]HL did not copy this letter in his letterbook. At the place it would have appeared is the following note by HL: "John Lewis Gervais Esquire the 15th. Septem— 1777. & Colo. A brief accot. of the Battle of Brandywine & inclosed Papers of intelligence—".

others I will serve as M^r^– Wells by giving them a good Workhouse Correction,[3] & send them back_

Every thing goes on pretty well at Mepkin & Wright Savanna except that Debat & Liverpoole are run away, as soon as they get into my hands, I think it will be best to Sell them_ Liverpool has been heard of at Sunbury & Mr Baillie has offered a reward for him,[4] but I can learn nothing of Debat_ They are ungrateful Rascals_

Tom Peas[5] goes still patroon in the boat_ & d[*oes*] tolerably well_ we have had a falling out & settled Acc^ts:^, & I am in hopes as they find I will not be imposed upon they will do better; As all the Rice was not beat out at Smalls place[6] & Ruff Rice sells better & more readily than clean Rice_ I sent for a Boat Load of it which sells from 20 to 25/. ℔ Bushel_ alth^o^ clean Rice is only at 50/: ℔ C^t^_ I Intend to send the Boat this Week to Wright Savannah to proceed from thence to Broughton Island for a Load of Ruff Rice with Mr Baillie it will be a good oppertunity now, as great part of the Georgia & our Troops are marched, & Stationed at the Altamaha_, & to prevent the boat being pressed I Intend to write to Genl. Howe_ they threatned Georgia with an Invasion from St Augustine_ but now they are afraid of an attack in East Florida themselves, since the Georgia Gallies took three of their Vessels & made the Galetea Man of War[7] run from St Simons_ they are going to build a Galley in St John's River_ the whole Number of their Troops does not exceed nine hundred Men in East Floriday_ the three Frigates upon this Coast are the Carysfort, the Galetea & the perseus_[8]

HL Papers, XI, 565; John Lewis Gervais to HL, Aug. 17, 1778, Gervais Collection, in private hands.

[3]Thomas Wells was a Charleston constable who brought slaves accused of crimes to trial. Terry W. Lipscomb, ed., *The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, November 20, 1755–July 6, 1757* (Columbia, S.C., 1989), pp. 104, 181, 274.

[4]James Baillie was HL's overseer at his Broughton Island plantation.

[5]Tom Peas, one of HL's slaves, died in July 1778. Gervais, noting his death, commented "upon the whole he was a good Negro." John Lewis Gervais to HL, July 16, 1778, Gervais Collection, in private hands.

[6]See the account from Small's Field plantation, Dec. 29, 1780, Kendall Collection.

[7]"Man of War" written in left margin.

[8]*Carysfort*, 28 guns, Robert Fanshaw; *Perseus*, 20 guns, George K. Elphinstone; and the *Galatea*, 20 guns, Thomas Jordan. *Naval Documents* (Clark), IX, 302, 509.

(Re: Robert Peais, Prisoner son of Richard)

Monsieur De Bretigny of whom I wrote to you last November has made his escape from St Augustine for the French Islands_ the other Officers that were with ~~them~~ ↑him↓ are still in prison & very Ill used[9]

Capt Senf is employed_ & gone with our Troops to Georgia under Command of C. C. Pinckney_[10] poor Colonel Cattle[11] died a few days ago.

Colonel Holzendorff is very well he lodges at Mrs. Boddie he Speaks of going in a Fortnight to Fran[ce][12]

M^rs^– Gervais is up again & mends fast [but she] will probably remain Lame for sometime, with dif[ficulty] she goes up & down Stairs_

I have made enquiries b[ut ca]n learn nothing about Mr Gray,[13] indeed I never could find him out, I got Mr Loveday to try if he could make any discoveries but to no purpose. Mr Edward Rutledge has paid me one years house Rent at £700_ & has agreed to pay the Old Ren[t] of £1200. ℔ Annum.[14]

I don't recollect whether I mentioned in my last that I sold your Old Pettiauger for £1500_

Yesterday a Flag of truce returned from St Augustine where she was sent with 45 prisonners_ they sent back above one hundred_[15] Capt Hatter also returned upon his parole for [*torn*]

[9]The Marquis de Brétigney and his officers (ten or eleven) arrived at Charleston Oct. 9, 1777. On their voyage northward they were captured and taken prisoner to St. Augustine. *HL Papers*, XII, 16–17.

[10]Col. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney commanded a South Carolina contingent composed of 600 men from the 1st, 3rd and 6th S.C. Regiments. Searcy, *Georgia–Florida Contest*, p. 139.

[11]William Cattell (1747–1778), a St. Andrew parish planter, held a lieutenant colonel's commission in the 1st S.C. Regiment. *HL Papers*, X, 314; *S.C. General Gazette*, May 7, 1778.

[12]Baron Holtzendorff sailed for Nantes about Aug. 18, 1778. Rawlins Lowndes to HL, Aug. 16, 1778, Kendall Collection; John Lewis Gervais to HL, Aug. 17, 18, 1778, Gervais Collection, in private hands.

A large inkblot obscures the text of several words in this paragraph. At the bottom of this page, Gervais wrote "excuse this sheet, I had not time to Copy it."

[13]Joseph Gray.

[14]Edward Rutledge rented James Laurens's Broad Street house in Charleston. *HL Papers*, XI, 291, 323.

[15]The *S.C. General Gazette* reported May 7, 1778, that two cartel ships had returned from St. Augustine with 100 persons who had been held prisoner there.

275-276 Robert P

The Papers of Henry Laurens
Vol 13 - 1778 E302 L3
(1972) - US Cont. Press

David L Chestnut Ed

Months, they would not exchange him as he had been guilty of an Act of piracy,[16] however Governor Tonin writes to the president he may stay if we will give in Exchange Capt Robert Paris, who has been in Goal here ever since the Year 1775 among the rest of the disafected & refused to take the Oath, it is a Lucky Circumstance for Hatter no doubt he will be sent.[17] Lofthouse is dead_[18] two Vessels full of Tories are ready to Sail among them Sir Edmund Head, William Hest, Kincaid,[19] & [*torn*] other[s] who do not incline to take the Oath of allegeance to the State.

Every thing is very dear_ beef is 15/. ℔ lb. Butter 45/: ℔ lb. a Loin of Veal £4.10. a Quater Mouten £8 to £9. fowls a [*dol*]lar a piece, Chickens very small 15/. a piece Ducks [*inkblot*] pair turkeys £10 to £12. a small string of Whiting [*tha*]t used to cost 2/6 is now 15/: notwithstanding all [*inkblot*] we shall not accept Lord North's proposition, if we do, we shall be ~~illegible~~ undone_ a Cessation of Arms the Ennemy Keeping Philadelphia New York & New port, would give them time effectually do divide us, if they really mean to treat of peace let them with draw their troops totally_

If we agree to be[20] put upon the same Footing we were in the Year 1763 in the Year 1783. we shall be perfect Slaves, we shall not be allowed to carry a Gun even in our own Inclosures_ For God sake don't Let us have any thing to do with Kings Officers [*torn*] I would give them every advantage we can consistent with

[16]Capt. John Hatter commanded the privateer *Hope* with a letter of marque dated November 1776. *HL Papers*, XI, 190, 300, 461.

[17]Robert Pearis, one of the Loyalist officers captured by Richard Richardson in December 1775. *HL Papers*, XI, 51–52.

[18]Alvara Lofthouse's brig *Judith* was taken in July 1777 by the S.C. brig *Notre Dame*, Stephen Seymour. *HL Papers*, XI, 408.

[19]Charleston merchants Sir Edmund Head, William Hest, and George Kincaid purchased as equal partners the ship *Hope*, James Gillis, and loaded it with 886 barrels of rice and sailed May 12, 1778, for Rotterdam. The vessel was intentionally grounded on Charleston bar by the pilot. After a costly refitting the Loyalist partners were forced by a Congressional embargo to sell the rice in Charleston at a loss and reload the *Hope* with naval stores. They finally sailed July 14 but were taken by the British privateer *Folkstone* off Dover. A British admiralty court restored the vessel to its previous owners (it had been called the *True Briton* and had been taken as a prize by the South Carolina privateer *Randolph*). The partners, who finally reached England in September 1778, claimed that each had lost £3,645 sterling in the venture. Loyalist Transcripts, LIII, 307–319, 539–546; *HL Papers*, IV, 143n.

[20]"b" written over "p".

This shows Capt Robert Pearis captured Dec. 1775
Exchanged May 1778? See Vol 11, pg 52

Independency_ consistent with the Oath of Abjuration; America should not only abjure the King of Great Britain but all Kings_ Perhaps Lord North's View is only to detach us from the French & after we have lost the Confidence of foreign powers to bring us to what terms he pleases_ Surely Congress won't be ensnared by Lord North_

I send you the two last news papers_ I also Inclose Six Letters for you & three for Colonel John Laurens_ the one open, came ↑so↓ yesterday by the Flag of truce from St Augustine_ please to remember me to the Colonel Mrs. Gervais presents her respects to you. Miss Claudina has the Spring fever, John[21] is a Fine hearty Boy & walked at 8. Months, you did not expect this when you saw him last.

Adieu My Dear Sir I am with great affection / Your much obliged humble / Servant

John Lewis Gervais

SOURCE: RC, Gervais Collection, in private hands; addressed on cover "Honourable Henry Laurens Esqr / President of the honourable / Continent[*al*] Congress / York Town"; dated "Charles Town 8th:^ May 1778_"; docketed by HL "John L. Gervais / 8 May 1778 / Rec^d:^ 6 June".

FROM ETHAN ALLEN

Valley Forge, May 9, 1778

Sir,

my Exchange was Effected the Third Instant I arrived at Head Quarters as soon as Circumstances would permit to pay my Respects to General Washington and Other Officers of the army for their Care ↑in↓ Bringing About my Exchange ↑to↓ which the Brittish have ever shown the greatest Aversion and I Take this Oppertunity to Express the greatfull Sense I have of ↑the↓ goodness of ↑the↓ Honourable the Continental Congress and the Honour done me in passing severa↑l↓ Resolves[1] in Order to have long ago Expedited my Exchange, the Melev-

[21]Claudia Butler (b. 1774) and John Lewis (b. 1777) were the first of six children born to Mary Sinclair and John Lewis Gervais. *Directory of the S.C. House*, III, 258.

[1]*JCC*, X, 295.


North
TENNESSEE
LOWING ROCK
Mt. Mitchell
LINVILLE
Yadkin R.
Linville R.
Blue Ridge
Catawba R.
South Fork Yadkin R.
MORGANTON
HICKORY
SALISBURY
MARION
OLD FORT
South Fork Catawba R.
LINCOLNTON
RUTHERFORDTON (GILBERT TOWN)
NORTH CAROLINA
SHELBY
GASTONIA
CHARLOTTE
Green R.
Broad R.
CAESAR'S HEAD
King's Mountain
COWPENS
Pacolet R.
SPARTANBURG
ROCK HILL
The Waxhaws
Saluda
GREENVILLE
LANCASTER
Tyger R.
CHESTER
Enoree R.
PELZER
Reedy R.
Catawba R.
MUSGROVE'S MILL
Hanging Rock
NORTHWEST SOUTH CAROLINA
Broad R.
WINNSBORO
CAMDEN
GREENWOOD
Saluda R.
NINETY-SIX
COLUMBIA
Lake Murray
Wateree R.
STATEBURG
GRANBY
GEORGIA
Savannah R.
EDGEFIELD
Congaree R.

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[32] Thomas Ferguson (d. 1786).

[33] Daniel Cannon, a carpenter, was leader of the mechanic class in Charleston.

[34] Richard Paris (also spelled Pearis) and John Lindley were backcountry leaders. J. B. O. Landrum, *Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina*, Greenville, 1897, pp. 62, 65, 75.

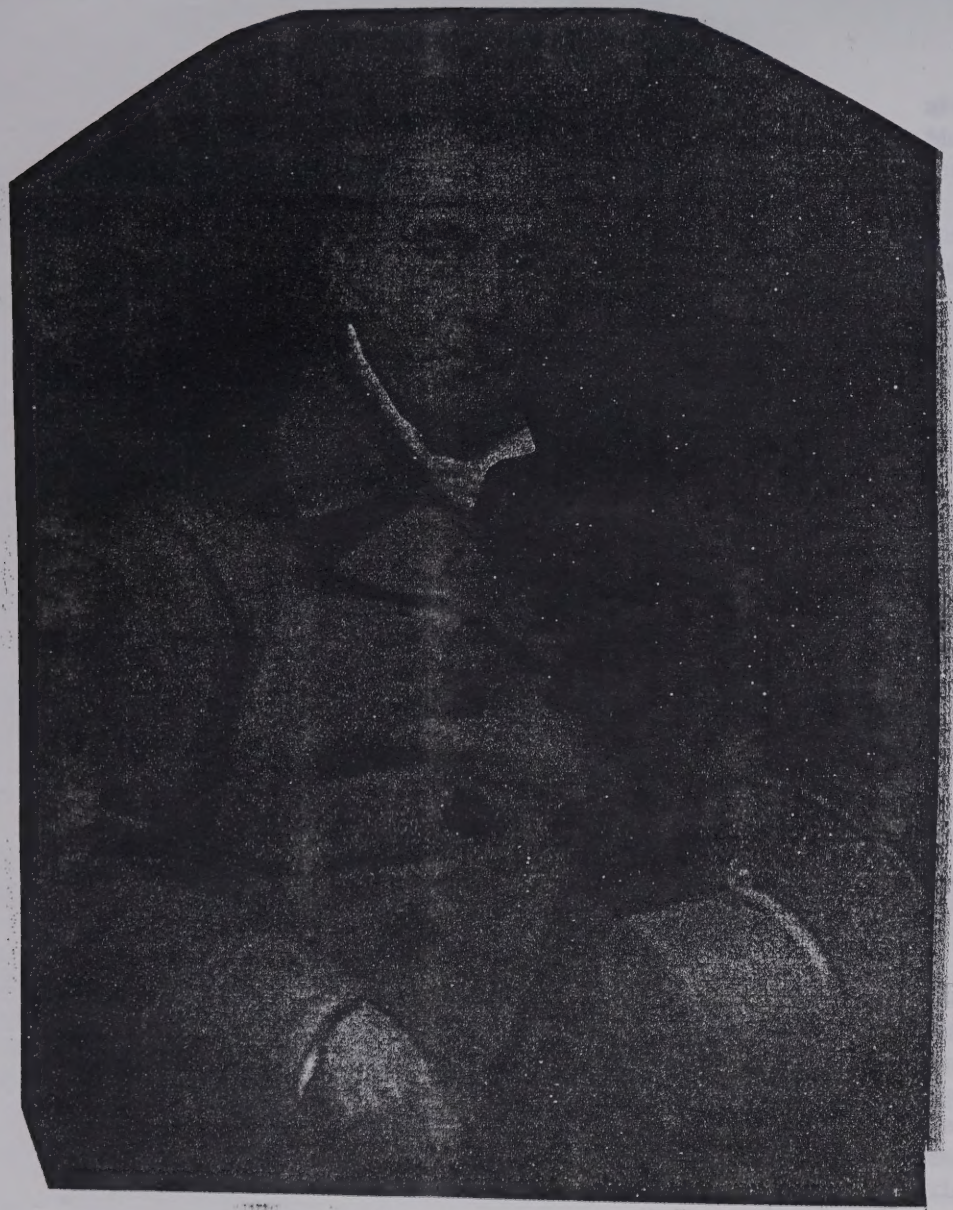
[35] Major Andrew Williamson of the S. C. militia was one of the wealthiest men in the Ninety-Six District.

[36] James Parsons (d. 1777).

Feb 1778

(Vol ?)

(Note: Vardy McBee's father was one of the officers in the "Snow Campaign" who destroyed Richard Pearis's plantation, but in the long run he, also, but after the war lost his home due to the machinations of rich Charlestonians. This contains nice descriptions of the Greenville area when Captain Pearis dwelt there. Vardry, himself, managed to invest there & the city grew. rjz)



VARDRY McBEE
By William Garl Browne Jr.
Painted in Greenville, S.C. in 1854.
Owned by Judge Wm. Moultrie Guerry of Norfolk, Va.

VARDRY McBEE

1775-1864

MAN OF REASON IN AN AGE OF EXTREMES

ROY McBEE SMITH

CHAPTER 6

PIONEER TRACE TO CAROLINA

The first Vardry McBee and his brothers Mathias and James sold their plantations in Halifax County and by 1766 joined the tide of emigration moving southwestward.[1] A thousand wagons had been counted the year before going through the colony of North Carolina.

The McBees followed the Catawba Traders' Path to the cluster of cabins called Salisbury,* where they left that trail and moved through the next cluster, which in a few years would be named Charlotte for King George III's blonde queen. For a few miles farther south, to the settlement known as the Waxhaws, the trail was passable for teams of oxen. Below the Waxhaws, the trail was not as good, and progress was slower. There were settlements

*The first Vardry McBee's brother, Mathias McBee, settled in North Carolina. His brother Samuel did not emigrate to the area in South Carolina which is now Spartanburg, Cherokee, York, and Union counties. Hereafter in this book when Samuel, Mathias, and Matthew McBee are referred to, the reference is to the first Vardry McBee's sons, not his brothers.

along the Catawba River, but they grew thinner as the McBees moved due west thirty miles and crossed the Broad River at the Cherokee Ford.

In the rich meadows[2] and redlands between the Broad and Pacolet Rivers, they ended their two hundred mile journey. Elijah Clarke and the Poole family had come to that area from Virginia as early as 1755 and joined a settlement started before that by John Grindal on the Pacolet River, known as "Grindal Shoals."

The gently rolling hills abounded in pine and hardwood forests, which could be easily cleared because the trees were large and far apart, with deep grass or pea vines beneath them. The river basins were fertile and covered with a growth of cane. Game was plentiful. Herds of deer and buffalo roamed the countryside, and wild turkeys flew up from the brush. The clear streams teamed with perch, catfish, and suckers. The McBee axes rang through the thickets, and soon cornfields, pastures, and orchards pushed back the forests.

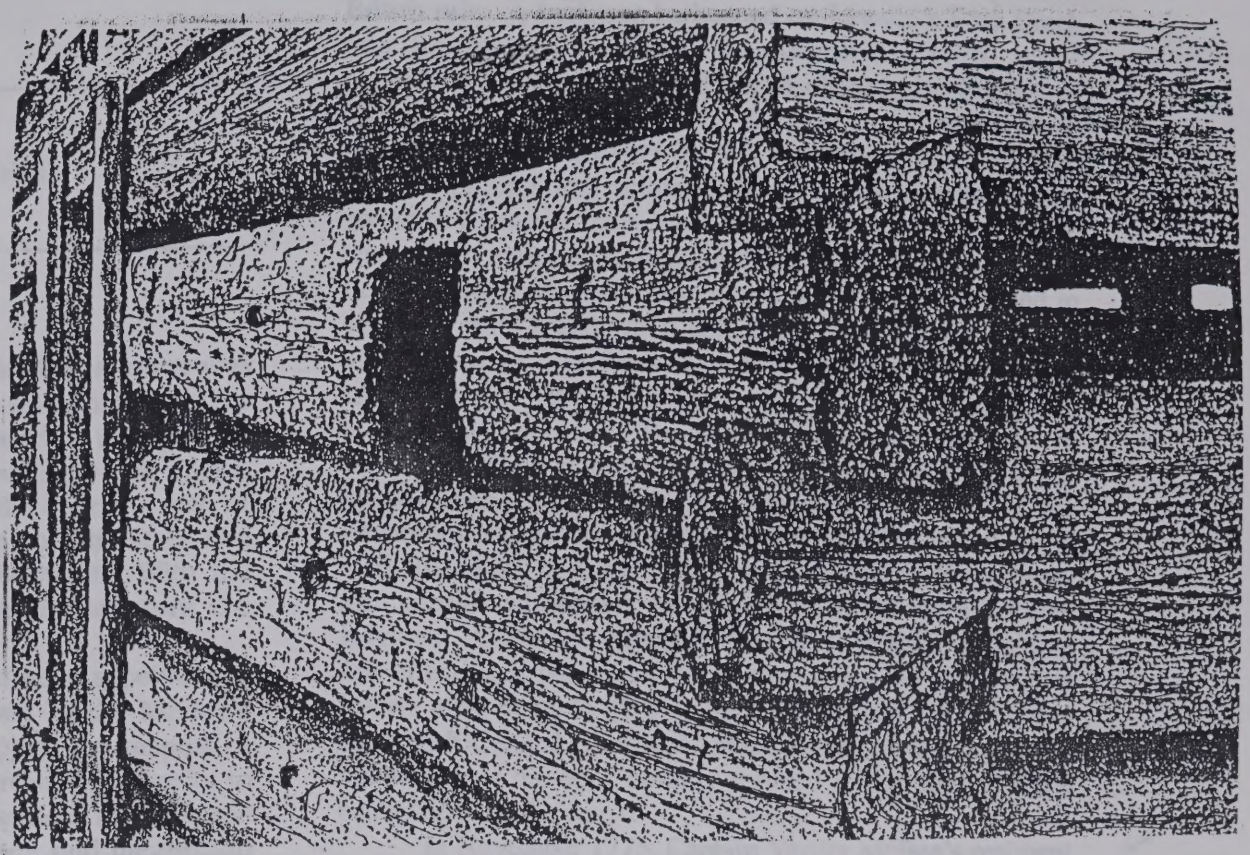
The first Vardry McBee settled on the north fork of Thicketty Creek.[3] Thicketty Creek drained the fifteen square mile area between the Pacolet and Broad Rivers. His first acquisition of 300 acres included the limestone quarries and springs at what would much later become the town limits of Gaffney, South Carolina. This tract was three miles from the stockade and blockhouse built by settlers in 1758 for refuge from Indian attacks and known as Fort Thicketty.[4] He built his homestead on a road which led westward ten miles to a cluster of cow pens owned by a man named Hannah, and eastward twenty miles, crossing the Cherokee Ford of Broad River, to King's Mountain. His additional acquisition of 350 acres on the North Fork of Thicketty Creek near its crossing of Dare's Ferry Road, even today is considered the finest tract of land in Cherokee County for its rich, flat, bottom land.

The area was thought to be in the Province of North Carolina due to a surveying error years before that drew the line eleven miles south of the legal border. That error had been discovered in 1764, and a corrected line agreed to east of the Catawba River. But nothing had been done to correct the mistake west of the Catawba. One result of that error was that the first Vardry McBee was appointed by the North Carolina court as constable for Tryon County when it was formed from part of Mecklenburg County in 1769.[5]

The cloud upon every title in the eleven mile area south of the true line boiled into frontier violence. North Carolina surveying crews had to be guarded by North Carolina militia when working in the area. Mounted "Southmen" patrolled the countryside demanding recognition of the title of the South Carolina province in defiance of a North Carolina sheriff's posse. Finally, in 1772, a compromise was agreed to by which North Carolina, which had received the eleven mile strip east of the Catawba, gave up its claim to a strip about the same size west of the Catawba, creating the notch at the Catawba River which prevails today in the boundary between the two states.[6]

After the boundary dispute was settled, the first Vardry McBee's homestead came within the Ninety-Six District of South Carolina. That District included territory west of the Broad River to the Tugaloo and Savannah Rivers, and south to the Georgia line at Augusta. This was a judicial district created by the South Carolina Commons House and put into effect at the end of the year 1772. East of the Broad River to Lynch's Creek on the other side of the Catawba River, and southeasterly to what is now Williamsburg County, South Carolina, was the Camden District, another judicial district.

The first Vardry McBee gradually acquired title to over 7,000 acres scattered about the two districts.[7] He acquired various tracts for farming and for mining of



Ruins of Thicketty Fort, presently owned by Jack Lipscomb near S.C. Route 11, in Cherokee County.

CHAPTER 7

WAR IN THE PIEDMONT

The frontier world he was born into that summer was tense with fear and danger. He heard the skirts of his mother and sisters brush across the floor, the sound of their voices, the hum of the spinning wheel and knocking of the churn, but there was also the hushed knock on the door, the rush of boots across the floor, the hurried voices of his father and brothers, and the gallop of horses in the night. With the smells of baking bread and cooking vegetables were the smells of leather and gun powder.

The Council of Safety which had been appointed in Charles Town five days before the second Vardry McBee's birth, sent riders to the up country to appeal for support of the Revolution. They were given the unrealistic authority to use force if persuasion failed. Many settlers retorted that nothing from the coast was truthful. They said the turmoil was over a piddling tax on tea, which would cost far less than raising troops. Many were afraid the King would revoke their land grants, and that the Cherokees would be unleashed upon them.

But the elder Vardry McBee had business and personal associations with merchants and leaders in Charles

Town and considered many of them to be men of principle, since he saw that they had fared well economically under British rule. A beef was barbecued on Lawson's Fork Creek near the McBee homestead on August 21, 1775, and a regiment of sorts was formed which elected him Captain of Horse. As partisan volunteers, the men chose their leaders, reserved the right to vote on the activities of the regiment, refused training, and acknowledged that its members could go home whenever there were domestic concerns or crops to tend. Each expected himself and the other members to fight fiercely and boldly when there was a chance to win, and to disappear with speed when defeat appeared certain. If they disapproved of a leader's tactics or objectives, they joined another group. At one time or another the same man served in Colonel Thomas's, Brandon's, Roebuck's, or Steen's regiment. Their democratic independence made them the most assertive, innovative, and aggressive soldiers of the Revolution. Their officers were expected to lead by example more than word of command. Once engaged in battle, every man considered himself an officer and acted upon his own judgment. Under the circumstances, their method of fighting was effective if not scientific. Later, when the low country leaders were ready to give up the cause as lost and submit to the British General Clinton, Captain Vardry McBee and these militiamen of the back country refused to quit and forced a continuance of the war.[1]

In November 1775, Captain Vardry McBee's regiment crossed the Indian line into what is now Greenville County to join the forces of Colonel Richard Richardson against the King's men who were inciting the Cherokees to join them. It began to snow and continued for thirty hours to a depth of two feet. The men of the Spartan Regiment had only their saddle blankets for shelter. In the heavy snow the King's men were surrounded by their enemy before they were aware of the Americans' presence. On Christmas Day, the

CHAPTER 1

WAR IN THE PIEDMONT

Americans left the Indian country with a hundred prisoners.

Around the hearths for years to come, the boy Vardry heard the rough-hewn voices of bearded men tell of "The Snow Campaign" and having been "at the Snow Camps."

In July 1776, the Cherokees swept over the frontier into the Thicketty area, burning homes and massacring entire families. Hannah McBee and her daughters fled with the year old Vardry to Thicketty Fort three miles away. Captain Vardry McBee's regiment joined militia from North Carolina to wipe out the Indian villages and destroy the stockade of the Tory, Richard Pearis, at the Reedy River Falls, at the center of the present city of Greenville. South Carolina. For a time the frontier was quiet, and the men returned uneasily to their farms.

The infant Vardry grew, learning to sit up, and then to crawl across the floor. The gristle grew into bone, and his father chuckled about his legs getting longer. His mother could croon to him, and he soon knew the sunlight and the gray dawn, and the blue haze of miniature Thicketty Mountain on the horizon.

Then a British army sailed for the South and the Spartan Regiment went to the defense of Charles Town, unsuccessfully. On May 12, 1780, Charles Town fell, and General Lincoln and his army were taken prisoners. Most South Carolina leaders accepted final defeat as inevitable, and agreed to the status of prisoners of war on parole, in order to protect the families and property of their men and themselves. Samuel McBee joined General Francis Marion's militia on the Santee, to reorganize and resist, striking from the woods, drawing quick blood, and fading back into the woods before the British recovered. It was the British who gave Marion the label "Swamp Fox."

A few bands of unparoled militia escaped to the back country, where Colonel Thomas Sumter began to regroup to fight back. The King sent two of his most aggressive officers

to oppose him, the Earl of Cornwallis and Lieutenant-Colonel Banastre Tarleton.

Driving his cavalry 154 miles into the back country in fifty-four hours, Tarleton overtook Colonel Buford's troops at the Waxhaws and butchered 113 of them after they had thrown down their arms and surrendered. The massacre enraged the back country, led most leaders to reject their parole, and made Tarleton a target on the frontier.

That summer was known as the "The Dark Summer." Outspoken Tories who had escaped from the Province during American victories came back under Cornwallis's wing. Sumter had to evade not only the King's regulars but also Tory militia that gathered behind him. But Captain Vardry McBee's regiment and other back country patriots rallied about the giant Sumter, who was over six feet tall, weighed two hundred pounds, and loved a fight.

Young Vardry's fifteen year old brother, Silas, enlisted in his father's company on June 10, 1780, at a rally at Bullock's Creek Church in the present York County.

Now the British sent Lieutenant Colonel Patrick Ferguson to the back country. It was said that no man of his rank and years had ever attained more military distinction. He had been commissioned when he was but fifteen years old, had served in wars in Flanders and Germany, was regarded as the best marksman living, and was a master of military tactics and ordnance. King George III had honored him for his invention of a breech-loaded precision rifle. His mission was to rally the back country to British allegiance and to train those recruits to fight against the rebels.

Into Colonel Ferguson's camp on the South Pacolet River walked the fifteen year old boy Silas McBee, with the demand to speak personally with the Colonel. He said his mission was for his mother, who demanded return of a fine horse which some Tories had taken from the McBee plantation.[2] But his real assignment was to determine

the speculators of Charleston.

When the Ninety-Six District was divided into counties in 1785, with one called Spartan, a court was finally established there. Before that, parties and their witnesses had to go to Ninety-Six for judicial relief, and before that, all the way to Charles Town.[5] In 1787, Thomas Williamson sold Baylis Earle and the other commissioners a two acre tract from his plantation, for five shillings, to build the Spartan Courthouse. Captain Vardry's old commander, Colonel John Thomas Jr., was appointed Clerk of Court. It took some time for the court to catch on in this back country. One of its first judgments was to fine a man "who called on God to damn the grand jurors."

Captain Vardry, ignoring the Quaker heritage of the Echols side of the family, was waiting for the gavel of the Spartan Court to fall, to begin litigation upon debts that were due him. Money being worthless, he sued in trover and attachment, or for conversion, for repossession of the property purchased from his trading post and not paid for.

Credit was gone, and the Captain could not continue his frontier merchandising. Not only that, a new state law prevented him from collecting any money due him until 1786, and after 1786 only a fifth of a debt could be sued for annually. Also, a property tender law was passed, forcing creditors to accept until 1787 any property that debtors might offer in lieu of money, at two-thirds the value set by assessors. The assessors conspired, and debtors began to bring blind horses, yokes of oxen, crippled cows, and other worthless goods to force the settlement of their debts.

The legislature repealed the legal tender of its paper money and offered redemption of the original issue at one four thousandth.

Nature compounded the woe by making the year 1785 a disastrous crop year.

A debtor, though willing to sell part of his land to pay

his bills, found he must pay four times the value. Never were so many planters ruined or forced to sell at extraordinary sacrifices.[6]

In 1786, Captain Vardry sold 392 acres on Poplar Creek in what is now York County. Yet in that year of distress Vardry Jr. attended the field school conducted by Mr. Gaper, an "excellent but slightly deranged teacher" the Captain had brought from Charleston. Mr. Gaper's school lasted all day, six days a week, with an hour or two at noon for lunch and play time. Vardry Jr. made good progress in reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic. Mr. Gaper taught him for about a year, all the formal education Vardry Jr. would receive, except for a few months when he was twenty-two.[7]

In 1789, Captain Vardry sold 280 acres on Certains Creek in what is now York County, and then 468 acres on the Broad River. Then, 2,557 of his acres in the present York County were sold by the Sheriff for the payment of his mortgages.

The Captain's final collapse came when land-baron Francis Bremar, of Charleston, took over even the limestone springs and the McBee quarries. Bremar allowed Captain Vardry to continue to "farm" the limestone for Bremar's contracts, on highly profitable terms to Bremar.

The Captain could no longer afford Mr. Gaper's teaching, and Vardry Jr., age twelve, was put to work farming and raising limestone in the quarry, until he was eighteen years old.

The Captain was broken. He made some journeys into east Tennessee about this time, where he had relatives, and tried to establish a wagon trade to that area. Vardry Jr. went with the Captain on trips into North Carolina and the upper part of South Carolina, including to the western area now named the Greenville District, where the Captain pointed out the Reedy River Falls. That was the location of

Richard Pearis' stockade and mill that the Captain and his Spartan Regiment had destroyed at the beginning of the war. Most of the area around the falls, and the fine house on the hill, was owned by the wealthy man who had come there from the Thicketty area - Lemuel Alston.

No state saw more war, or suffered more from war, than did South Carolina during the military phase of the American Revolution.[8]

Historian, Duncan Wallace, wrote: "On account of South Carolina's having been the seat of far more devastating and widespread war than any other state, agriculture was crippled by the destruction of equipment, the neglect of fields, and the disorganization of labor."

In Charleston, Henry Laurens sent food in 1786 to keep Edward Rutledge's slaves from starving.

The official report of each state of its debts in 1789 shows South Carolina's to be greater than any other. Massachusetts and Virginia's debt was only half as much as South Carolina's. South Carolina, said Wallace, was bleeding at every pore. A Charleston ordinance fixed the price of bread on a sliding scale, adjusted to the price of flour. General Moultrie - shortly after he had finished his term as Governor of the state - was seized and lodged in the Charleston jail, because he could not pay the notes he had signed during the war to get provisions for his soldiers.

Vardry McBee Jr., with the blunt judgment of youth, held his father to be a poor manager of his affairs and was critical of him for mortgaging his lands and never recovering. Many years later, he said of his father: "He was fond of social company and confiding in his nature, with habits not improved by his military life." This led, said Vardry McBee Jr., to the Captain's "utter ruin in fortune."[9]

The author grew fond of Captain Vardry McBee through the years of the French and Indian and Cherokee Wars, and as he built his homestead on the Thicketty, and drove his wagons to Charles Town and Augusta. He was tough, and he could kill when defense demanded it, but he refused to be cruel or ruthless.[10] And, what veteran of King's Mountain or the Cowpens was "improved by his military life," as Vardry Jr. would have had it?

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A hundred miles southwest from Lincolnton, in the verdant foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains, a large South Carolina landowner had for some years been watching the opening prospects of the Western Territories and had concluded that the prospects for development of his property in and near the village of Greenville were not bright.

*Elias Earle's grandfather, the first Baylis Earle, settled in 1763 in what is now Spartanburg County, on land adjoining Vardry McBee's uncle, James McBee, on the North Pacolet River. Crittenden, p. 10. Also Holcomb, p. 89.

That landowner was Lemuel James Alston whose father and stepfather had settled in 1784 at Grindal Shoals, on Pacolet River, five miles southwest from the McBee homestead. Alston had graduated from William and Mary College in Williamsburg, Virginia, and settled in Greenville about 1785. In 1788, he bought the former property of Richard Pearis and, with his other purchases on the crystal waters of the Reedy River, finally owned 11,028 acres. The village of Greenville was laid out on his estate and a plat made of fifty-two lots, comprising four blocks on each side of Main Street, from the river to the present Washington Street. He worked his lands and built a beautiful residence on a hill about six hundred yards west of the main street. Alston cultivated several thousand acres of land. His home was the center of the social life of early Greenville and its surrounding plantations. The Joseph Alstons and others from the low country had been his "paying guests" for several summers and autumns. In 1806, he was elected to Congress, defeating Elias Earle* who was running for re-election. In 1810, Elias Earle came back, and defeated Alston for re-election to Congress.[1]

Alston published his desire to sell, but for more than four years no one in the district, or among his acquaintances in the state, showed interest. The continuous planting of cotton had exhausted the phosphorous, potash and nitrogen in the soil of his plantation.

In Lincolnton, Vardry McBee learned of Alston's decision to sell and recalled visiting the area as a boy and hearing his father speak of it. He knew Alston, his stepfather John Henderson, and their other relatives at Grindal Shoals. Vardry McBee questioned those in Lincoln County who had more current information of the Greenville area. From the map he saw that it lay in the thoroughfare to the West and in the path of Tennessee and Kentucky drovers on the way to Charleston and Augusta, which could furnish Greenville farmers a market for corn, fodder, and other foodstuffs. That Western trade would also require mercantile establishments and mechanic shops. He recalled the rushing Reedy River Falls and other water courses in the area and knew that Greenville possessed water power sufficient to operate any machinery known at the time. Finally, he wrote to Colonel Alston and made plans to travel to Greenville to review Alston's holdings in more detail.

The journey was across country he had known growing up. He passed by the diminutive cone of Thicketty, which

hardly qualified as a mountain, though its symmetry was pleasing. Passing the village of Spartanburg by five miles, the road crossed a rise, and the mountains came into view twenty-five miles off. To his right appeared Paris Mountain, to his left the Saluda range, and close by Glassy Mountain he could see the Saluda Gap. On the right, Hogback Mountain faded into the distance.[2]

Arriving in the village, he rode into the wide main road which ran along the crest of a ridge, and saw Colonel Alston's white mansion on a parallel hill west of the main road, at the end of an avenue formed by sycamore trees. He rode the length of the main road down a steep hill to the Reedy River Falls and watched the operation of a primitive and dilapidated grist mill.

Along the way, he observed that the courthouse in the middle of a would-be village square was a two story log building. The village was pretty and rural. The streets were covered with green grass, and handsome trees were growing along them. There were not many good houses, and the buildings were mostly of logs. Although there were several shops and other small buildings, it was not the seat of much business. He learned that, in past years, the courts sat only twice a year and often finished the session in two or three days. The general mercantile business founded in 1805 by Captain Jeremiah Cleveland was one of the small shops on the main road.[3] Vardry McBee and Captain Cleveland very likely knew each other. Their fathers had fought side by side at King's Mountain. There were "perhaps a hundred inhabitants" of the village.[4]

Having looked over the village and talked with Captain Cleveland and other residents, Vardry McBee rode up the avenue to Prospect Hill to meet with Colonel Alston. He was received hospitably and, for what remained of the day, they discussed their youth in the Thicketty community, then the Colonel's holdings, and then reviewed deeds and

plats of the property. Vardry McBee must have noted the large family Bible on the table in the "keeping"* room but did not know that the Colonel had not bought it until he became a candidate for Congress and displayed it to make a good impression on visitors.[5]

In the next few days, Vardry McBee rode over the 11,000 acres and near Paris Mountain eight miles away, then into the northern part of the district, in view of the impressive prominence of Table Rock and, in the distance, Caesar's Head. He admired the magnificence of the scenery and was impressed by the wilderness of the country.

He knew that even before the village existed many residents of Charleston and the low country had discovered the pure, healthful, and invigorating climate of the area, and its view of the Blue Ridge mountains. They came to spend the summer months each year, some on plantations they purchased, and some as "paying guests" of friends. Joseph Alston had brought Theodosia and their son, Aaron Burr Alston, there for years as "paying guests" and built a summer house there about 1810.[6] But no one had yet fully recognized the opportunity to provide special accommodations for the purpose of attracting visitors. Colonel Alston's mansion could be the first hotel or summer resort in this "Switzerland of Carolina"[7] if Vardry McBee could find the proper person to manage it.

He rode the course of the Reedy River southward, and upon returning to the Colonel's house, discussed the possible purchase. No commitment was made, and he left for the trip back to Lincolnton, advising Colonel Alston that he would correspond if he decided to pursue the matter.

In Lincolnton, he discussed the purchase with his

*Drawing room.

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Jeremiah Cleveland never wore a coat in the summer except when he went to church, and even then he seldom wore stockings. Colonel Toney was somewhat of a dandy, and more particular in his dress, wearing silk stockings and a calico morning coat or hunting shirt. All the stores sold whiskey, and a lady going in to shop ran the risk of meeting a drunken ruffian cursing and swilling from his whiskey bottle.

On sales days or public occasions the people from out in the country and mountains would ride into the village, get drunk and fight in the streets.* Wagons camped on the public square, and their owners built fires to cook their suppers. Deep into the night there were noises and cursing in the streets. The girls and women came with the men and there were often as many women in the square as there were men.[14]

But with the increase of visitors from the low country who had been accustomed to wealth, intellectual life, and refinement, the crassness of the frontier began to pass away, and the culture of the low country began to make its impression upon the village.

A young poet, visiting Greenville during 1823, wrote of the

> (M)ajestic Saluda Mountains whose summits pierced the clouds, the shadowy valleys, the quietly flowing Reedy River, and the grand old Table Rock - saying nothing of the quiet little town imbedded, as it were, among the green hills; for, from a distance with its white cottages, it looked like a pearl set in a cluster of emeralds.[15]

*There was a foot log across Reedy River at the foot of Main Street hill. Crittenden, p.35.

Vardry McBee was president of the Greenville Agricultural Society and for years was awarded the premium for the best managed farm in the district.[21] He helped organize that society in 1824.

There were two bookstores in Greenville by 1830, a Ladies' Library Society organized by 1826, and a Thespian Society organized by Colonel Charles W. D'Oyley by 1836. The *Greenville Republican* published its first newspaper July 12, 1826. It engaged Colonel D'Oyley as editor.[22] From its offices upstairs over a store in front of the courthouse, Colonel D'Oyley issued the newspaper every Wednesday morning.

Visitors from the low country filled the Mansion House in Greenville in the summer months. It charged $4.50 a week for one adult and $2.50 for keeping one horse. The Greenville Bath House at Reedy River furnished hot and cold baths and showers at $1.00 a month, or a single warm bath for 25¢, or a shower at 6 1/2¢.

In 1830, the village population was 600; there were nine stores, three tailor's shops, three milliner's shops, two carriage manufacturers, four blacksmith's shops, one baker, one silversmith shop, one cabinet maker's shop, one shoemaker shop, one paint shop, two tin shops, and one printing office. There were Vardry McBee's two grist mills, his sawmill, iron works, saddlery, tan yards, brick yard, and cotton mill.[23]

The village was crowded with young people from Charleston, Augusta and Savannah, who were happy to be away from the sand flies, gnats and mosquitoes and free of the dreaded fevers of the low country. Admirers of nature could see Glassy Mountain to the east, glittering in the sunshine, the Saluda Mountains and Blue Ridge to the north and west, and from high places in the village, the majestic

stone face of Table Rock to the northwest. Paris* Mountain could be seen from every part of the village.

Every week in summer there were dances and parties. Even in the winter there were parties and balls. It was the fashion for the young men to walk their ladies to the Reedy River Falls on moonlit nights. By going down a path through clumps of mimosas, willows, and Camperdown elms, they could reach the old "enchanted tree" with its rock seat just large enough for two. Across the pond stood the brick flour mill built by Vardry McBee in 1817, near the spot where Richard Pearis had built his mill when it was Indian territory, and which Captain Vardry McBee and the Spartan Regiment destroyed in their raid of 1780.

Fishing parties were popular, and young men and ladies were often seen on their way with fishing tackle and poles to fish in the Reedy River.[24]

There were picnics at Table Rock twenty miles away, or at Paris Mountain only eight miles from the village. Fourth of July celebrations were held on top of Table Rock, a thousand feet high and half a mile long, with a spring of pure water on top which flowed down from a waterfall into an icy pool. On top were blueberry bushes and cedar trees. Many courtships were associated with visits to Table Rock. A summer hotel was built near the rock during the 1820's.

Three lines of stagecoaches each furnished transportation into the village three times a week. One was from Asheville, another from Augusta, and the third from Columbia. In approaching the village, the drivers sounded bugles giving notice of their arrival.** If a traveler left

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*Named for Richard Pearis before research established his spelling of his name.

**By a code they signaled to the innkeepers the number of passengers aboard.

Unionists found in the village, a provocation which influenced Vardry McBee's decision to be a Union candidate for the state convention.

Across from the courthouse was the Mansion House where he had visited with the eloquent United States Senator Robert Y. Hayne, the Hugers, the constantly drinking James Petigru, and the diminutive Joel R. Poinsett. Judge Baylis Earle had fallen dead in its lobby in 1844.[2] Banquets had been given there for the magnetic John C. Calhoun, so wrong in most of the things he stood for, in Vardry McBee's opinion.

Across the river was the hill upon which Furman University was located, and just below it, on the river, were his mills, on the site of Pearis's stockade and corn mill, which his father and the Spartan Regiment destroyed in the Revolution. There were the rushing waterfalls which had made it inevitable to Vardry McBee in 1815 that a city would rise around them.

To the far right, across the river on the road to Pendleton, near its intersection of the road to Augusta, the family had watched as Pinkney departed on the train to Columbia to attend the legislature. That was before Vardry McBee completed the stone depot in December of 1853.

On out Pendleton Road was Luther's house, where Susan and her children were still asleep, with Luther's death still disturbing their dreams.

The Revolutionary Frontier - 1763-1783

by Jack M Sosin (1967)

The Revolutionary Frontier 1763-1783 - Jack N. Sosin (1967)

the speculators—Johnson was one himself—the susceptible superintendent departed from his initial instructions, and at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in November 1768 he allowed the Iroquois to cede "Indiana" to the "suffering traders" of Pennsylvania. The boundary of the cession by the Six Nations was extended south along the Ohio from the Kanawka to the Tennessee and north from Owegy to Wood Creek on the Mohawk. The southern extension apparently was to serve as compensation to the Virginians who would acquiesce in the title given to the Philadelphia group for the land on the upper Ohio claimed under the Virginia charter.[17]

1768

The cession by the Six Nations of the region between the Kanawha and the Tennessee rivers gave the Virginians a pretext for undoing the negotiation concluded by Stuart with the Cherokee. Moreover, the example set by the "suffering traders" in obtaining a private land grant from the Iroquois spurred such southern speculators as David Ross, Richard Paris, and Jacob Hite to follow suit. Stuart was able to prevent these agents employed by a group of speculators, the "Land Jobbers" of Virginia, from obtaining private land grants from the Cherokee, but he was unable to prevent Governor James Wright and the merchants and traders of Georgia from extorting from one tribe lands claimed by another. For some years Wright had been eager to open all the territory east of the Oconee River. Between 1770 and 1773 he astutely played off the Creeks against the Cherokee under the guise of canceling debts owed by the Indians to the traders. By the Treaty of Augusta, August 3, 1773, Wright obtained over 2,100,000 acres in the "New Purchase" of Georgia. The episode left the Cherokee and Creeks bitter and resentful.

Virginia land speculators aided by Lord Boutetort, their compliable new governor, were even more quick to take advantage of the negotiations at Fort Stanwix. Although the Virginians contended for a boundary extending west to the Mississippi, Stuart won a compromise by the Treaty of Lochaber, October 22, 1770. The southern boundary of Virginia was extended due west to within six miles of Long Island in the Holston River and then in a straight line to the confluence of the Kanawha and Ohio. When marking this line in the spring of 1771, a survey party led by Colonel John Donelson modified the boundary in order to accommodate squatters in the Powell and Clinch valleys. Donelson departed from the specified line and struck cross-country over the Cumberland Mountains to the headwaters of the Louisa (Kentucky) River and by that stream to the Ohio. This line became the official boundary between Virginia and the Cherokee.[18]

Thus was concluded the last major boundary negotiation with the Indians during the British regime. Despite the policy of preserving the

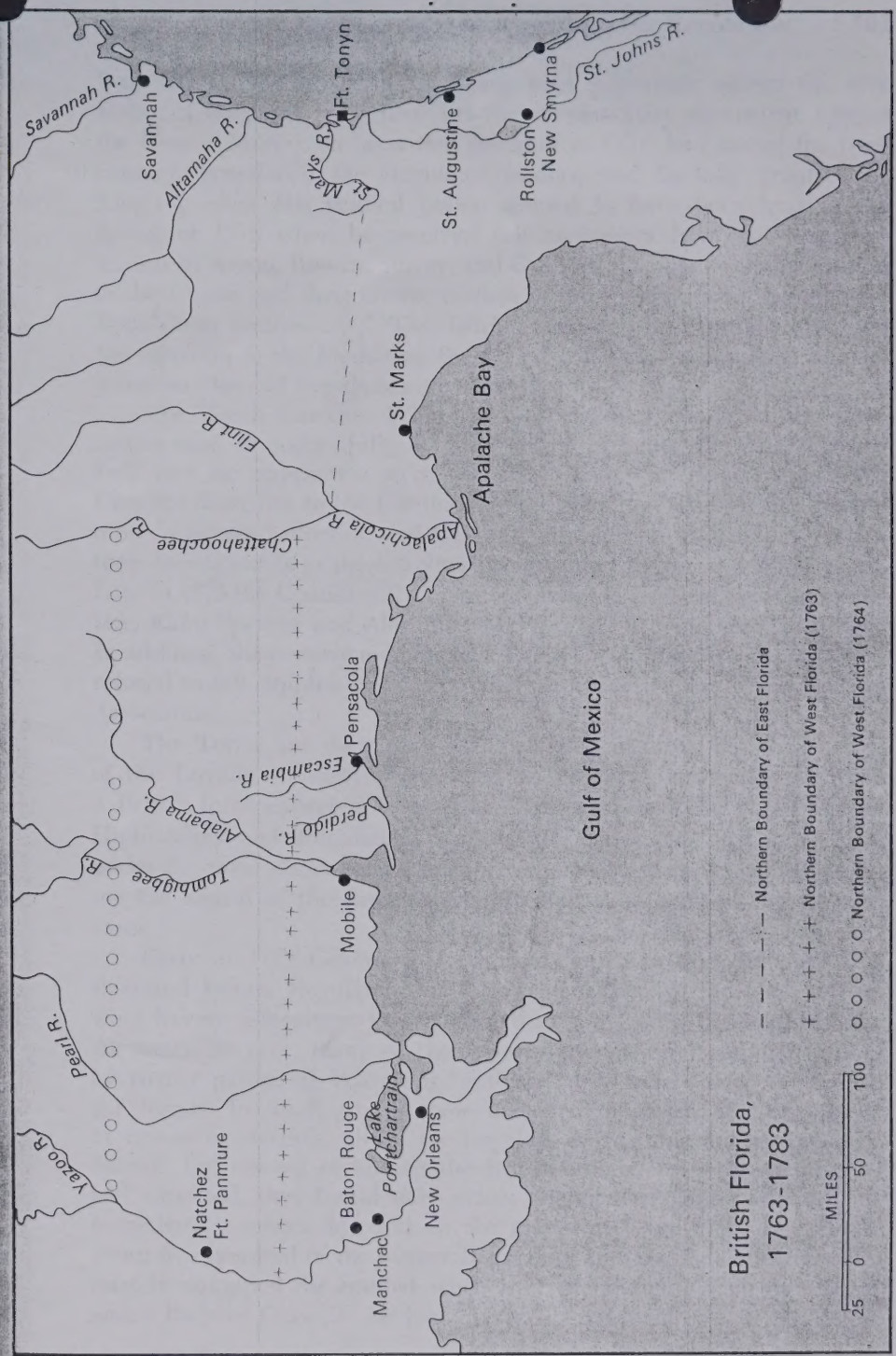
peace of the frontier by restricting and channeling expansion, through these negotiations the royal government obtained millions of acres of land on the frontier in the pre-Revolutionary decade. In Georgia alone 6,695,429 acres were acquired. These acquisitions were necessary to meet the pressure of an increasing population within the North American colonies and the continuing tide of immigrants from Europe and the British Isles.

due to the failure of the proprietors to settle the requisite number of families.

West Florida developed more quickly than its eastern neighbor, the peninsula. First officers and soldiers of the British army arrived, and then in 1764 after news of the new province had been carried to London and the older British colonies, settlers and planters came out. Initially the lands immediately surrounding Pensacola and Mobile were taken up. During the next twelve years settlers arrived either by ocean vessel or overland by the valleys and rivers of the Appalachian system and the Mississippi River. Most of the earliest holders were civil and military officials, but men of the 35th Regiment joined the growing population of West Florida and petitioned for land along the Escambia, Middle, and Chester rivers. By 1768 two new movements in settlement began, one into the upper valleys of the Tombigbee and Alabama rivers, the other up the Mississippi. The latter reached boom proportions within the next five years. Settlers soon formed communities between Manchac and Baton Rouge in the Natchez country and in the region drained by the Bayou Sara, the Homochitto, and the Bayou Pierre.

By the summer of 1770 the movement to West Florida from the older colonies had assumed substantial proportions. Daniel Huay and John McIntire led an advance guard to Natchez made up of eighty pioneers from the Redstone Creek settlements who had come by way of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. Other families from the back country of North Carolina and Virginia were reported ready to follow this initial contingent. The following autumn more than two hundred families from the Holston River area commissioned John Clark to represent their intention to settle in West Florida, provided they could obtain provisions for six months. The provincial council extended aid as it had with the Huay and McIntire group.[1] After his unsuccessful involvement in the Wyoming Valley dispute, Captain Amos Ogden obtained 25,000 acres near Natchez and in 1772 brought out settlers from New Jersey. The following spring additional New Jersey families arrived by way of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers as did settlers from the Pennsylvania back country. In June a sloop from North Carolina arrived with thirty-three passengers who formed a settlement on the Mississippi.

The largest single contribution to the population of West Florida resulted from the migration of 400 families from Connecticut during 1773–1774. This Yankee settlement on the Mississippi stemmed from the efforts of the Company of Military Adventurers, a forerunner of the Ohio Company of New England formed after the Revolutionary War. As early as 1759 General Phineas Lyman, who had commanded a Yankee regiment during the French and Indian War, had become interested in frontier settlements about Lake George and Lake Cham-



representing men from the entire region from the Broad to the Savannah rivers were present. None of the 1500 assembled joined the Continental Association set up by the provincial Congress. Instead, they subscribed to a counterassociation that had evidently been initiated to appeal to a large neutral element. Some who had formerly supported the Whigs, among them Colonel Moses Kirkland, now went over to the Loyalists. Although numerically strong, the back-country Tories were short of arms and cut off from aid.

Through propaganda, coercion, and economic sanctions the eastern Whigs attempted to eliminate the Loyalist leadership and win over the Piedmont. Ezekiel Polk's company of rangers rode roughshod over the region. Early in August 1775, a band of Sons of Liberty led by Thomas Graham abducted Thomas Brown, a recent English settler from New Richmond to Augusta; they burned the soles of his feet and tarred and feathered him. An outspoken opponent of the Whigs and, according to Patriot propaganda, the son of Lord North sent over to America to "poison" the minds of the people, Brown became an active Loyalist recruiter in the back country. Yet the initiative lay with the Patriots. They would not allow anyone who did not subscribe to the Continental Association to buy or sell at any of the crossroads country stores. In addition, the Whig Council of Safety in Charleston sent William Henry Drayton and two ministers, the Presbyterian William Tennent and the Baptist Oliver Hart, to harangue the settlers. During the summer of 1775 they toured the back country addressing meetings, holding private conversations with the leading men, and inducing settlers to join the Association and the separate military units not controlled by the Loyalist militia officers.

The Whig delegation was able to divide the back country. When Drayton signed a truce with the timid Fletchal on September 16, Brown and the Cunninghams denounced the agreement and fled to East Florida to seek outside support. A large Whig force under Richard Richardson raised by the revolutionary government at Charleston dispersed the outnumbered Tories who retreated toward the Indian country. The Tories were finally defeated at Great Cane Creek on the Reedy River later in the year in the "Snow Campaign." The Whigs were now in firm control, and Loyalism as an organized force ceased to exist in the South Carolina interior.[7]

The decisive victory of the Whigs in South Carolina by the end of 1775 helped to assure the success of the Patriots in North Carolina where Governor Josiah Martin had placed his hopes of holding the province until the arrival of a British army on two groups: the former Regulators, and the recently arrived Highlanders settled along the Cape

(Index says Richard Pearis on p 100 but I don't see it.) as Tory

Fear River. The Regulators had long held grievances against the very seaboard magnates who now led the revolutionary movement against the Crown. Martin, on becoming governor in 1771, had toured the back country, conciliated the Regulator leaders, and liberally granted the King's pardon. His studied policy seemed to have born fruit in the spring of 1775 when he received full assurances from the Regulator leaders in Anson, Rowen, Surrey, and Guilford counties of their devotion to the Crown and their utmost disdain of the "profligate and abandoned Republican faction. . . ." The Patriot leaders were apprehensive over the situation in the Piedmont. By what I can find," complained Samuel Johnston, "the old Regulators are all against us."[8]

The North Carolina Whigs on the seaboard employed the same tactics used so successfully by the Patriots of South Carolina. Thomas Polk and his supporters were not above using force, and the North Carolina delegates to the Continental Congress prevailed on the Presbyterian, German-Lutheran, and Calvinist ministers in Philadelphia to ask their coreligionists in the Carolina back country to join the Whig cause. Late in 1775 the Continental Congress appointed two Presbyterian ministers, Elihu Spencer and Alexander McWhorter, to win over the settlers. In addition, the country merchants at Cross Creek (modern Fayetteville) refused to sell supplies to anyone failing to subscribe to the Continental Association.

The Tories, for their part, had not been inactive, but the success of the Loyalist movement depended on proper co-ordination between a British force expected to land at Cape Fear and the poorly armed Highlanders and Regulators who would rendezvous at Cross Creek under the royal standard and march to the coast. Contrary winds delaying the arrival of the British fleet off Cape Fear doomed the Loyalist cause.

Early in 1775 Governor Martin had hoped to raise two or three thousand former Regulators for the royal cause, but the back settlers were having difficulties. Deprived of their arms after the Battle of the Alamance in 1771, many of them were now driven from their homes by roving parties of Whigs; as "outlyers" they were forced to hide in the forests. In small groups some managed to gather at Cross Creek in answer to Martin's call for the Loyalists to assemble under the King's banner, but instead of finding the British troops and weapons as they had expected, they found only a few Highlanders. Some turned back immediately; others deserted on the march to Cape Fear. In all only about five hundred of the former Regulators and Highlanders were adequately equipped for combat when over a thousand Whig militiamen under Richard Caswell—he had played a prominent role in the defeat

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others to their former homes, and perhaps as many as four thousand melted away into the wilderness of the southwest, some going as far as the lower Mississippi.[10]

Although Kentucky was subject to raids and eastern Tennessee quickly came under the control of the Whigs at the start of the war throughout the conflict the infant settlements across the mountains were a refuge for those who wished to escape the turmoil of the Revolution. Brown's settlement on the Nolichucky River contained some Tories, but bands of mounted rangers from the Holston and Watauga settlements hunted down Loyalists and those suspected of harboring them. More than seventy suspects were captured and forced to take an oath to be true to the rights and liberties of America, and others were forced into the Continental army and had their lands confiscated by the court of Washington County. After 1778 many who were not in sympathy with the Revolution, fled the Watauga settlements for the lower Mississippi and Kentucky river areas.

Since few questions were asked in the Kentucky settlements, refugees who sought to escape the troubles in the East went there. Attempting to win over these frontiersmen, British authorities offered them 200 acres of land, humane treatment, and protection from the Indians. Despite the efforts of the Whig leaders along the Ohio frontier, some settlers did desert, and individuals and groups who had been captured often accepted the British offer. A few later returned to the Patriot side. The entire population of Martin's and Ruddle's stations who surrendered in 1780 to a British force took up lands about Detroit and Niagara.[11] As did many others, they simply made the best of a difficult situation, one not of their own choosing.

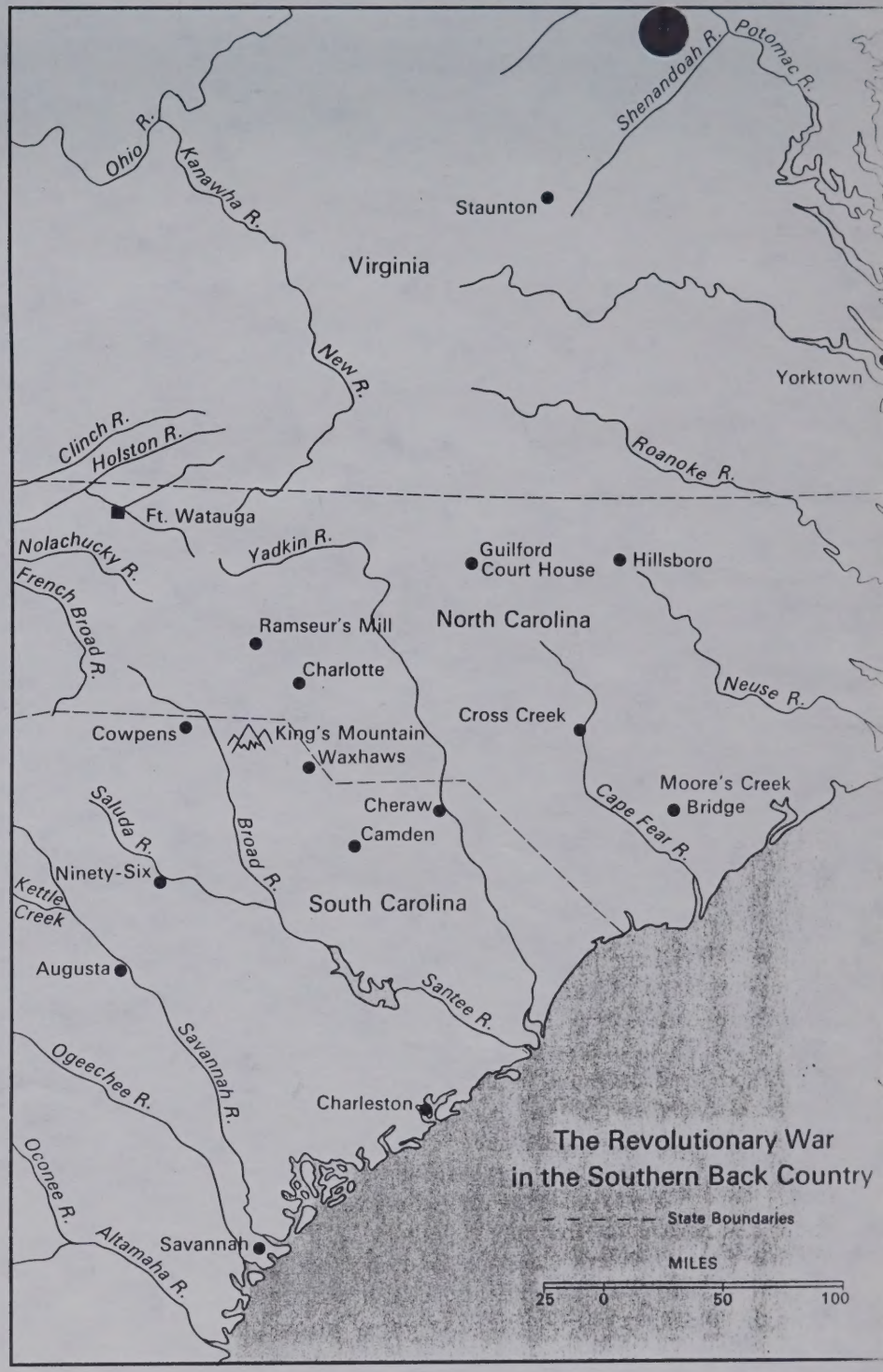
Few in the back settlements had a real choice during the Revolution. Most, perhaps, would have preferred to be neutral. But those who did take sides did so for a variety of reasons that cannot be explained entirely by class, religion, or any other factor extending to groups. In many instances the choice was an intensely personal one.

on the conquest of West Florida but also on a raid carried far up the Mississippi against the trading post at St. Joseph, presently Niles, Michigan. Initially, the raid on St. Joseph was merely an attempt by Spanish officials at St. Louis to placate the restless local Indians upon whom they depended. In January 1781 Lieutenant Governor Francisco Cruzat dispatched a party of militia and warriors under Don Eugene Poure against the undefended post. On February 12, Poure, in the name of the King of Spain, annexed the region from the St. Joseph to the Illinois rivers and withdrew. That summer Cruzat informed his superiors of the incident as evidence to authenticate the Spanish claim to territory north of the Ohio River by right of conquest.[4] Clearly the efforts of the Spanish were limited to achieving their own aims on the Mississippi, and except for diverting some British and Indian manpower, they did not materially aid the American cause when the British between 1779 and 1781 directed their main effort against Georgia and the Carolinas.

The British invasion of the South began with the capture of Savannah and Augusta between December 1778 and January 1779 by forces under Prevost and Archibald Campbell. At this stage the American commanders, Generals Robert Howe and Benjamin Lincoln, were unable to prevent a junction between the British and the Creeks or to restrict the invaders to the region south and west of the Savannah River. The British hoped to expand their offensive into the Carolinas and use Loyalist militia to control the Georgia back country. Indeed, with the fall of Augusta in January 1779 some 1400 back settlers enrolled in twenty companies, but these "Crackers" would be loyal to the Crown only if the British were firmly in control and stationed large numbers of troops in the back country.

When it became apparent that British control would not go unchallenged, many of the back settlers began having second thoughts. Some renounced their oaths of allegiance to George III and joined the irregular partisans organized by Elijah Clarke, John Dooly, and John Twiggs. In February 1779 the Whig militia under Clarke, Dooly, and Andrew Pickens of the Ninety-Six District of South Carolina surprised and defeated a group of 700 Tories under Colonel John Boyd at Kettle Creek in Wilkes County. The bloody engagement was a forerunner of the savage fighting that was to take place between Whigs and Tories in the upcountry during the next three years. With this setback the British were forced to temporarily abandon Augusta, and many potential Loyalists in the back settlements were disheartened.

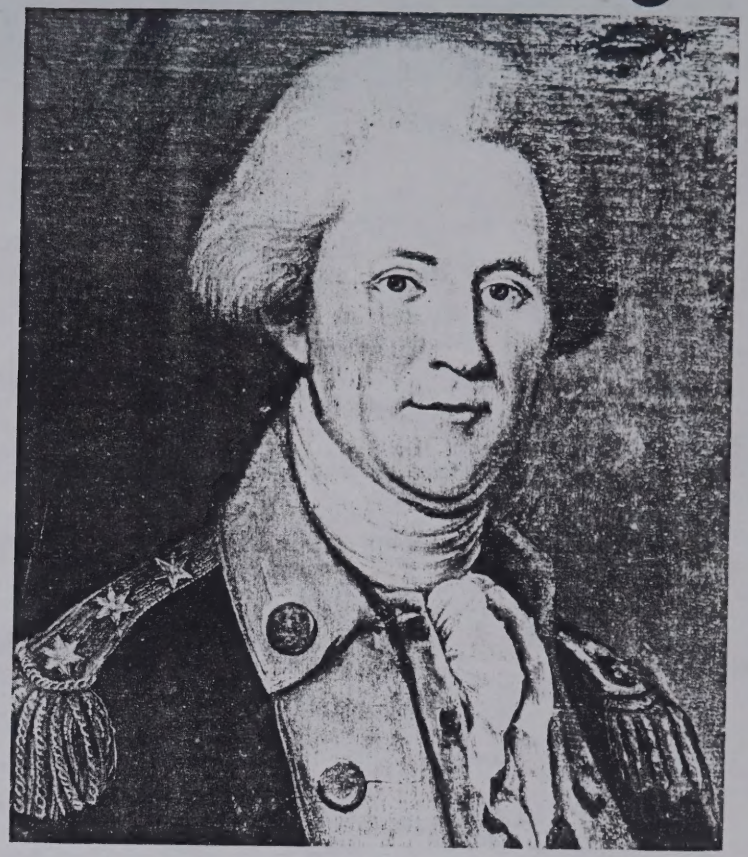
However, later that year the British once more took the offensive. Andrew Williamson handed over Augusta to the redcoats without a struggle in exchange for a royal commission. Four hundred hard-core Whigs in the interior then withdrew across the mountains in a long



hard march during the winter of 1779–1780. Apparently considering further resistance to be futile, most of the westerners, except for some eight to nine hundred settlers in Wilkes County, again submitted to British rule. Nonetheless, American control, even after the fall of Charleston in May 1780, continued to exist at various points in Wilkes County and in the Piedmont of South Carolina. The British needed to garrison the back country to control the region, protect potential Loyalists, and to overawe the Whigs under Francis Marion, Thomas Sumter, and Andrew Pickens who remained in the field. Consequently, the royal army established a series of posts from Augusta on the Savannah through the Ninety-Six District and Camden to encourage and protect the loyalists and sent Major Patrick Ferguson to raise a militia.

In some regions, between the Saluda and the Broad rivers where Loyalists were heavily concentrated, Ferguson was successful. Indeed, in the Orangeburg District and near the Little Pee Dee, the Tory militia retained local control until the spring of 1781 when Lord Cornwallis, the British commander in the South, withdrew his main army from the Carolinas. In the Camden and Cheraw districts, however, the Loyalist militiamen were untrustworthy and often deserted to the Whigs. Subsequent military reverses further disheartened the Tories. At Ramseur's Mill near the North Carolina border, the North Carolina militia on June 20, 1780, were able to crush nearly thirteen hundred poorly armed Loyalists, suppressing or driving out the Tory elements in North Carolina. In order to avoid being drafted into the Whig militia some eight hundred Tories gathered on the Yadkin River and escaped to join the main British army.

Despite these setbacks in the interior, Cornwallis on reaching Charlotte by the first week in September 1780 seemed to be almost in complete control. He had put Gate's army to flight at Camden on August 16, and two days later Banastre Tarleton had defeated Sumter.[5] Elijah Clarke and a corps of backwoodsmen failed to capture Augusta that month. For two days they beseiged 150 Provincial corpsmen and 250 Indians under Thomas Brown but withdrew before a relief column of Tories raised by Lieutenant Colonel John Cruger at Ninety-Six. The hard-pressed American partisan commanders, Charles McDowell, Isaac Shelby, and Elijah Clarke, once more retreated as Cornwallis sent Tarleton and Patrick Ferguson to the base of the mountains to stamp out resistance and raise Loyalist recruits. Ferguson had with him about 800 militia, raised mainly from the Ninety-Six District, when he marched into Tryon County, North Carolina. Learning that the settlers beyond the mountains had fought against the British and were harboring refugees, he threatened to put their men to the sword and their settlements to the torch. Quickly, the mountain men under Isaac Shelby and John



John Sevier in the uniform of a Revolutionary War general. (Tennessee Department of Conservation)

Sevier gathered at Sycamore Shoals. With the invocation of their minister to strike the British with the "Sword of God and Gideon," the frontiersmen, now heavily reinforced from the Holston and North Carolina settlements, set off. Warned of the settlers' preparations by two Whig deserters, Ferguson recalled his men who had been given leave to visit their families in the area and retreated toward South Carolina. On October 7 while he was encamped on King's Mountain, the Whigs overtook, surrounded, and defeated him. Thirty-two Tories were condemned by a rude court-martial, and nine were hanged before Sevier and Shelby peremptorily put an end to the executions. Many of the Loyalists then joined the American forces to escape death or imprisonment.[6]

With the defeat of Ferguson's force, the western arm of the British advance, Cornwallis postponed his invasion of North Carolina and re-

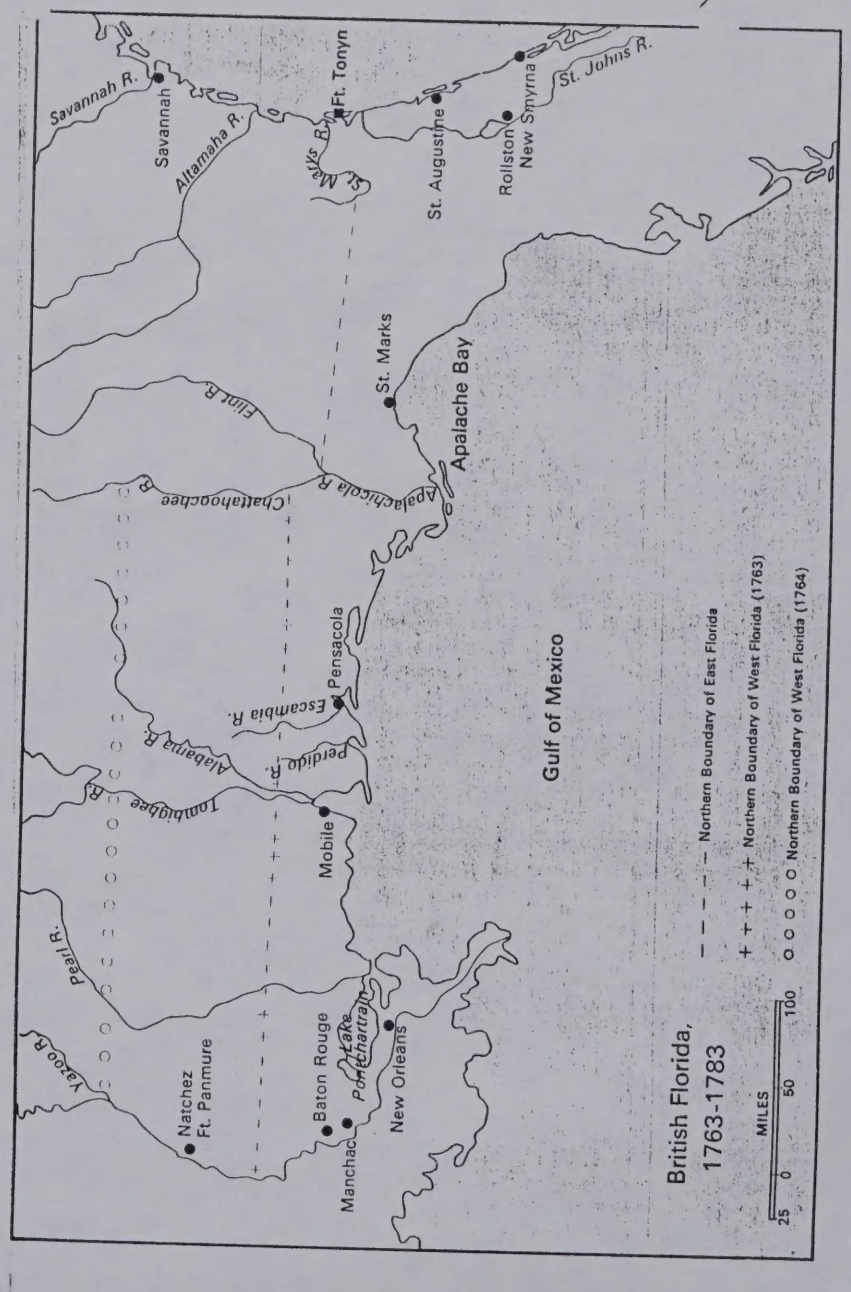
John Sevier, in the uniform of a Revolutionary War general. (Courtesy of the Tennessee State Museum, Nashville, Tennessee.)

the speculators Johnson was one himself— the susceptible superintendent departed from his initial instructions, and at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in November 1768 he allowed the Iroquois to cede "Indiana" to the "suffering traders" of Pennsylvania. The boundary of the cession by the Six Nations was extended south along the Ohio from the Kanawka to the Tennessee and north from Owegy to Wood Creek on the Mohawk. The southern extension apparently was to serve as compensation to the Virginians who would acquiesce in the title given to the Philadelphia group for the land on the upper Ohio claimed under the Virginia charter.[17]

The cession by the Six Nations of the region between the Kanawha and the Tennessee rivers gave the Virginians a pretext for undoing the negotiation concluded by Stuart with the Cherokee. Moreover, the example set by the "suffering traders" in obtaining a private land grant from the Iroquois spurred such southern speculators as David Ross, Richard Paris, and Jacob Hite to follow suit. Stuart was able to prevent these agents employed by a group of speculators, the "Land Jobbers" of Virginia, from obtaining private land grants from the Cherokee, but he was unable to prevent Governor James Wright and the merchants and traders of Georgia from extorting from one tribe lands claimed by another. For some years Wright had been eager to open all the territory east of the Oconee River. Between 1770 and 1773 he astutely played off the Creeks against the Cherokee under the guise of canceling debts owed by the Indians to the traders. By the Treaty of Augusta, August 3, 1773, Wright obtained over 2,100,000 acres in the "New Purchase" of Georgia. The episode left the Cherokee and Creeks bitter and resentful.

Virginia land speculators aided by Lord Boutetort, their compliable new governor, were even more quick to take advantage of the negotiations at Fort Stanwix. Although the Virginians contended for a boundary extending west to the Mississippi, Stuart won a compromise by the Treaty of Lochaber, October 22, 1770. The southern boundary of Virginia was extended due west to within six miles of Long Island in the Holston River and then in a straight line to the confluence of the Kanawha and Ohio. When marking this line in the spring of 1771, a survey party led by Colonel John Donelson modified the boundary in order to accommodate squatters in the Powell and Clinch valleys. Donelson departed from the specified line and struck cross-country over the Cumberland Mountains to the headwaters of the Louisa (Kentucky) River and by that stream to the Ohio. This line became the official boundary between Virginia and the Cherokee.[18]

Thus was concluded the last major boundary negotiation with the Indians during the British regime. Despite the policy of preserving the



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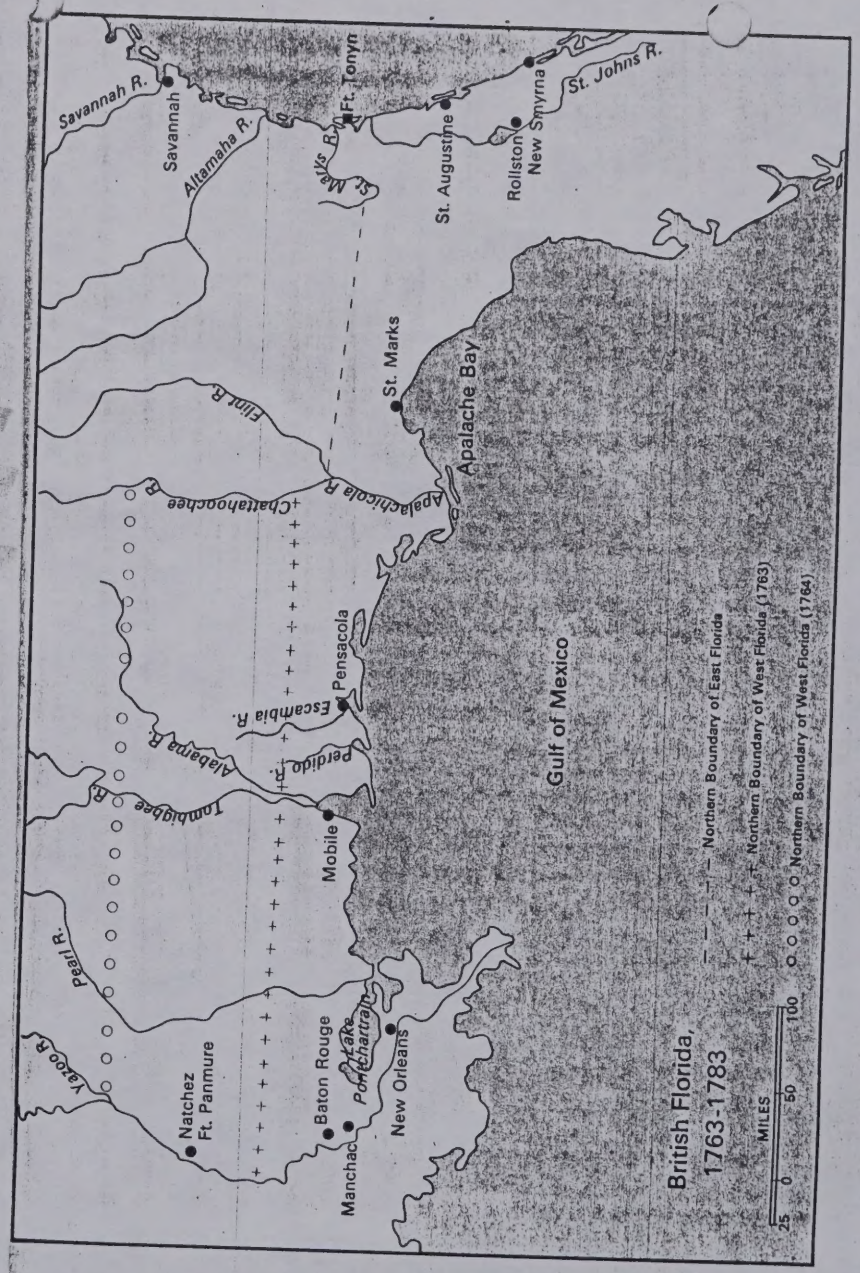

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The Whig delegation was able to divide the back country. When Drayton signed a truce with the timid Fletchal on September 16, Brown and the Cunninghams denounced the agreement and fled to East Florida to seek outside support. A large Whig force under Richard Richardson raised by the revolutionary government at Charleston dispersed the outnumbered Tories who retreated toward the Indian country. The Tories were finally defeated at Great Cane Creek on the Reedy River later in the year in the "Snow Campaign." The Whigs were now in firm control, and Loyalism as an organized force ceased to exist in the South Carolina interior.[7]

The decisive victory of the Whigs in South Carolina by the end of 1775 helped to assure the success of the Patriots in North Carolina where Governor Josiah Martin had placed his hopes of holding the province until the arrival of a British army on two groups: the former Regulators, and the recently arrived Highlanders settled along the Cape

(Index says Richard Pearis on p 100 but I don't see it.)

P 105 P. Fam

Archibald
Montgomery (3rd
Earl of)
Lord Eglinton

8

Victory and Stalemate, 1780-1782

During the early years of the Revolutionary War the northern states had been the scene of the heaviest fighting. But failing to conquer New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Rhode Island, the British in 1779 opened a major theater of operations in the South. With royal troops in the upcountry, they expected that the Loyalists, purported to be a large group in the back country, would rally to the royal standard, freeing the British regulars to defeat the Whigs and to bring the southern states to submission.

For the first time since the abortive Loyalist and Cherokee uprisings of 1775–1776, the back settlements of the Piedmont felt the full impact of the war. In 1779, 1000 troops under Brigadier John Campbell were sent to fortify Pensacola and to hold West Florida and the lower Mississippi while 3000 men under General Augustine Prevost moved from St. Augustine against Savannah. Another force led by Colonel Archibald Campbell marched overland from East Florida against Augusta. The British hoped that Georgia, once secured, would be a base for operations into the Carolinas. Full assistance from the westerners and the Creeks and Cherokee would be essential to control the interior.

British military officials were to be disappointed in the support received from the Indians and back-settlers. Chastised some years before, the back-country Loyalists on the whole hesitated to commit themselves again to the royal cause unless British victory was certain.[1] The Creeks and Choctaw, often antagonistic toward one another, well remembered the fate of the Cherokee when they had attacked the frontiers in 1776. John Stuart, who had restrained the tribes earlier, for some years had great difficulty in holding the allegiance of the Indians although his department supported hundreds of destitute Cherokee. Moreover, George Galphin and the other American Indian commissioners, well-supplied with goods from the French West Indies, actively contested with the British for the favor of the Creeks. They were "a mercenary people," according to Stuart. "Conveniency and safety are the great ties that bind them."[2] Stuart, and after his death, Thomas Brown and Alexander Cameron, finally did win over the Choctaw, Chickasaw, some Creeks, and the renegade Cherokee, or Chickamaugas, under Dragging Canoe who had never recognized the Treaty of Long Island (1777) imposed by the victorious whites and had established themselves on Chickamauga Creek along the Tennessee River.

Had Brown and Cameron brought the Indians against the frontiers when the British began their major campaign, they might have held down a considerable portion of the Whig forces; according to Henry Laurens, president of the state council, perhaps as many as 10,000 South Carolina militia assigned for the defense of the seaboard would have been stationed in the back country to meet a large-scale Indian attack. But the British never did employ large bodies of warriors against the southern frontier. Many of the tribesmen were short of food, and their villages had been decimated by smallpox. Moreover, when Spain entered the conflict in 1779, the British diverted most of the Indians for the defense of West Florida. In the ensuing operations only 360 Creeks joined the British forces in Georgia and South Carolina, and between 1500 and 2000 Creeks served in West Florida.

Despite the support of the hundreds of Indians serving in West Florida, the British were unable to hold the province. Operating with greatly superior forces from New Orleans and Havanna, Governor Bernardo de Galvez between 1779 and 1781 cleared the lower Mississippi of British posts and seized Mobile and Pensacola. The latter town was particularly important to the British as a center to supply, and consequently to hold, the Creek Indians. The Spanish, having achieved their objectives of controlling the Gulf coast and the lower Mississippi, were content to maintain their position until the major powers decided the fate of the North American interior during the peace negotiations.

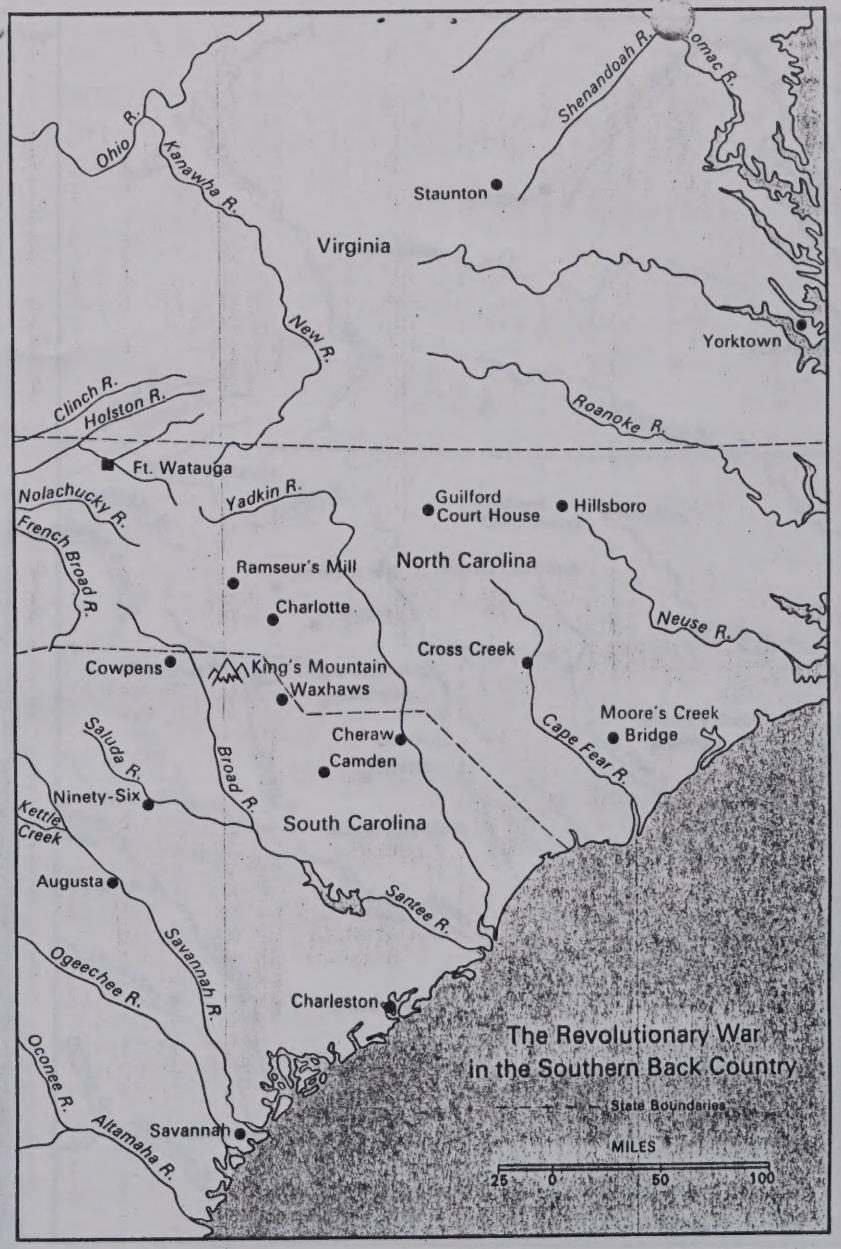
The Spanish were to base their claims to the Mississippi not only

n the conquest of West Florida but also on a raid carried far up the Mississippi against the trading post at St. Joseph, presently Niles, Michigan. Initially, the raid on St. Joseph was merely an attempt by Spanish officials at St. Louis to placate the restless local Indians upon whom hey depended. In January 1781 Lieutenant Governor Francisco Cruzat dispatched a party of militia and warriors under Don Eugene Poure against the undefended post. On February 12, Poure, in the name of he King of Spain, annexed the region from the St. Joseph to the Illinois ivers and withdrew. That summer Cruzat informed his superiors of he incident as evidence to authenticate the Spanish claim to territory orth of the Ohio River by right of conquest.[4] Clearly the efforts of he Spanish were limited to achieving their own aims on the Mississippi, nd except for diverting some British and Indian manpower, they did ot materially aid the American cause when the British between 1779 nd 1781 directed their main effort against Georgia and the Carolinas.

The British invasion of the South began with the capture of Savannah and Augusta between December 1778 and January 1779 by forces nder Prevost and Archibald Campbell. At this stage the American commanders, Generals Robert Howe and Benjamin Lincoln, were unable o prevent a junction between the British and the Creeks or to restrict he invaders to the region south and west of the Savannah River. The British hoped to expand their offensive into the Carolinas and use Loyalist militia to control the Georgia back country. Indeed, with the fall of Augusta in January 1779 some 1400 back settlers enrolled in twenty companies, but these "Crackers" would be loyal to the Crown nly if the British were firmly in control and stationed large numbers of troops in the back country.

When it became apparent that British control would not go unchallenged, many of the back settlers began having second thoughts. Some renounced their oaths of allegiance to George III and joined the irregular partisans organized by Elijah Clarke, John Dooly, and John Twiggs. In February 1779 the Whig militia under Clarke, Dooly, and Andrew Pickens of the Ninety-Six District of South Carolina surprised and defeated a group of 700 Tories under Colonel John Boyd at Kettle Creek in Wilkes County. The bloody engagement was a forerunner of the savage fighting that was to take place between Whigs and Tories in the upcountry during the next three years. With this setback the British were forced to temporarily abandon Augusta, and many potential Loyalists in the back settlements were disheartened.

However, later that year the British once more took the offensive. Andrew Williamson handed over Augusta to the redcoats without a struggle in exchange for a royal commission. Four hundred hard-core Whigs in the interior then withdrew across the mountains in a long



24 cos. backcountry

Prevost Dec 1778/9 ~ Capt Sunnit + August 1779 Dec 1778

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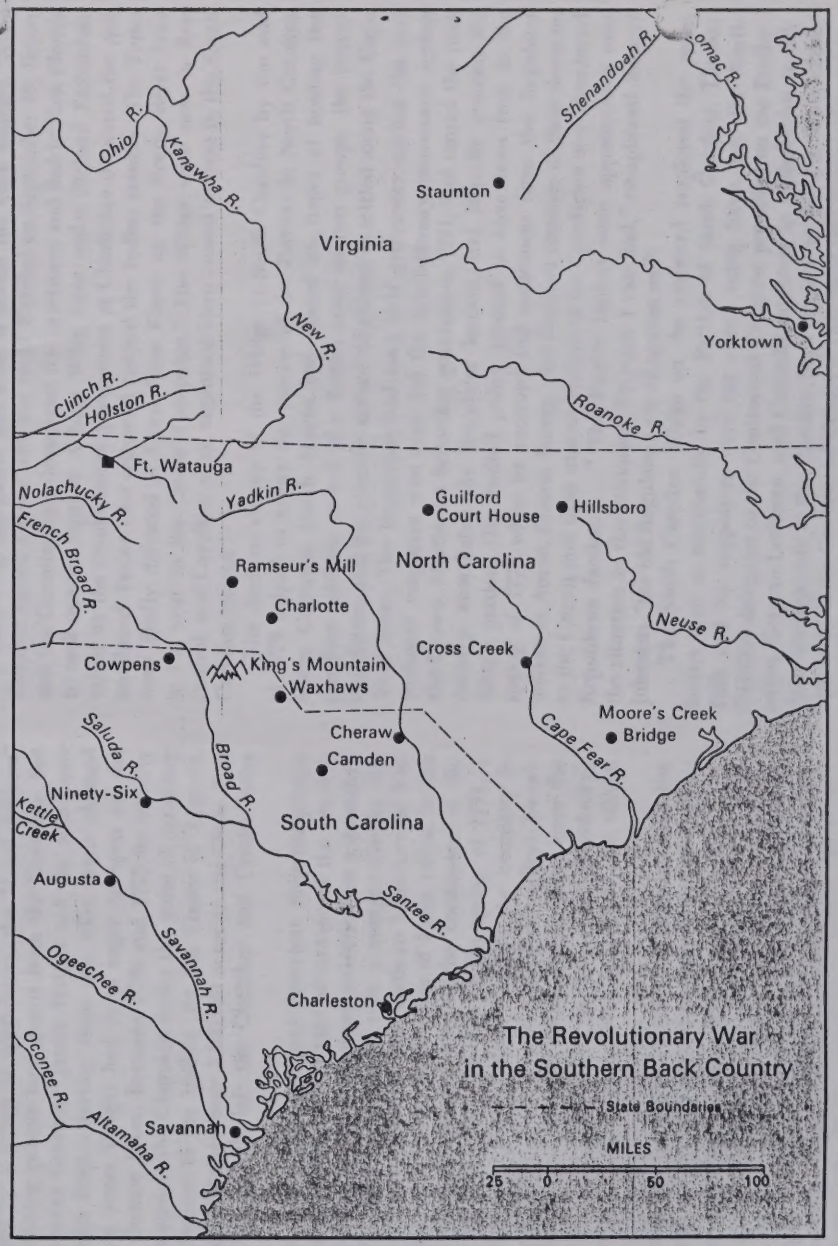

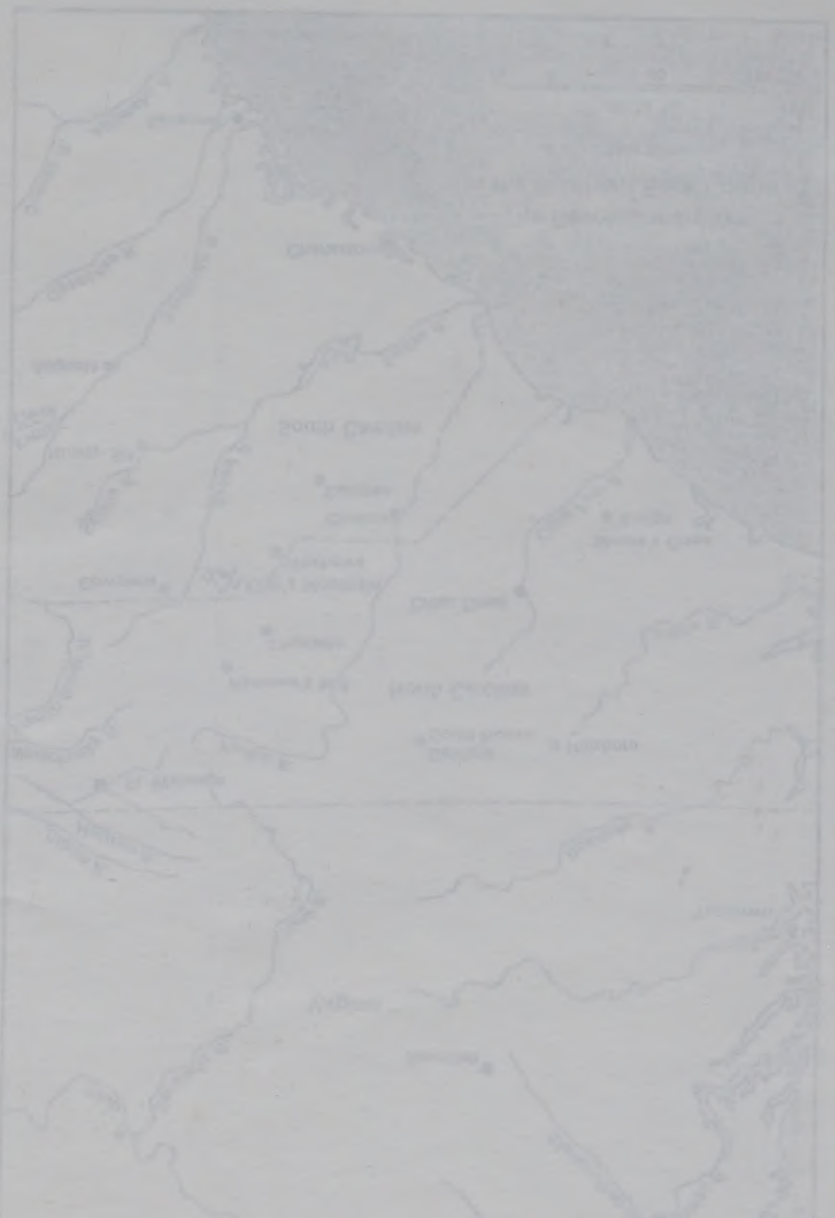

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Pages from: The Revolutionary Frontier 1763-1788 by Jack M Sosin

Pages 108-3

the speculators—Johnson was one himself—the susceptible superintendent departed from his initial instructions, and at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in November 1768 he allowed the Iroquois to cede "Indiana" to the "suffering traders" of Pennsylvania. The boundary of the cession by the Six Nations was extended south along the Ohio from the Kanawka to the Tennessee and north from Owegy to Wood Creek on the Mohawk. The southern extension apparently was to serve as compensation to the Virginians who would acquiesce in the title given to the Philadelphia group for the land on the upper Ohio claimed under the Virginia charter.[17]

The cession by the Six Nations of the region between the Kanawha and the Tennessee rivers gave the Virginians a pretext for undoing the negotiation concluded by Stuart with the Cherokee. Moreover, the example set by the "suffering traders" in obtaining a private land grant from the Iroquois spurred such southern speculators as David Ross, Richard Paris, and Jacob Hite to follow suit. Stuart was able to prevent these agents employed by a group of speculators, the "Land Jobbers" of Virginia, from obtaining private land grants from the Cherokee, but he was unable to prevent Governor James Wright and the merchants and traders of Georgia from extorting from one tribe lands claimed by another. For some years Wright had been eager to open all the territory east of the Oconee River. Between 1770 and 1773 he astutely played off the Creeks against the Cherokee under the guise of canceling debts owed by the Indians to the traders. By the Treaty of Augusta, August 3, 1773, Wright obtained over 2,100,000 acres in the "New Purchase" of Georgia. The episode left the Cherokee and Creeks bitter and resentful.

Virginia land speculators aided by Lord Boutetort, their compliable new governor, were even more quick to take advantage of the negotiations at Fort Stanwix. Although the Virginians contended for a boundary extending west to the Mississippi, Stuart won a compromise by the Treaty of Lochaber, October 22, 1770. The southern boundary of Virginia was extended due west to within six miles of Long Island in the Holston River and then in a straight line to the confluence of the Kanawha and Ohio. When marking this line in the spring of 1771, a survey party led by Colonel John Donelson modified the boundary in order to accommodate squatters in the Powell and Clinch valleys. Donelson departed from the specified line and struck cross-country over the Cumberland Mountains to the headwaters of the Louisa (Kentucky) River and by that stream to the Ohio. This line became the official boundary between Virginia and the Cherokee.[18]

Thus was concluded the last major boundary negotiation with the Indians during the British regime. Despite the policy of preserving the peace of the frontier by restricting and channeling expansion, through these negotiations the royal government obtained millions of acres of land on the frontier in the pre-Revolutionary decade. In Georgia alone 6,695,429 acres were acquired. These acquisitions were necessary to meet the pressure of an increasing population within the North American colonies and the continuing tide of immigrants from Europe and the British Isles.

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The North Carolina Whigs on the seaboard employed the same tactics used so successfully by the Patriots of South Carolina. Thomas Polk and his supporters were not above using force, and the North Carolina delegates to the Continental Congress prevailed on the Presbyterian, German-Lutheran, and Calvinist ministers in Philadelphia to ask their coreligionists in the Carolina back country to join the Whig cause. Late in 1775 the Continental Congress appointed two Presbyterian ministers, Elihu Spencer and Alexander McWhorter, to win over the settlers. In addition, the country merchants at Cross Creek (modern Fayetteville) refused to sell supplies to anyone failing to subscribe to the Continental Association.

The Tories, for their part, had not been inactive, but the success of the Loyalist movement depended on proper co-ordination between a British force expected to land at Cape Fear and the poorly armed Highlanders and Regulators who would rendezvous at Cross Creek under the royal standard and march to the coast. Contrary winds delaying the arrival of the British fleet off Cape Fear doomed the Loyalist cause.

— Continued over —

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Early in 1775 Governor Martin had hoped to raise two or three thousand former Regulators for the royal cause, but the back settlers were having difficulties. Deprived of their arms after the Battle of the Alamance in 1771, many of them were now driven from their homes by roving parties of Whigs; as "outlyers" they were forced to hide in the forests. In small groups some managed to gather at Cross Creek in answer to Martin's call for the Loyalists to assemble under the King's banner, but instead of finding the British troops and weapons as they had expected, they found only a few Highlanders. Some turned back immediately; others deserted on the march to Cape Fear. In all only about five hundred of the former Regulators and Highlanders were adequately equipped for combat when over a thousand Whig militiamen under Richard Caswell– he had played a prominent role in the defeat

of the insurgents at the Alamance in 1771—broke up their march at Moore's Creek near Wilmington on February 27, 1776. The Whigs then took heart. Samuel Johnston boasted that not one influential man or anyone worth more than £100 in property had joined the Loyalists. But quiet was not immediately restored. The former Regulators who had not joined the Highlanders in their march from Cross Creek formed bands on their way home and raided the farms of those who favored the Whig cause. The Patriots retaliated scouring the forests on the upper Yadkin. Many Loyalists were forced to go into hiding.[9]

The initial defeat of the Loyalists in the southern back country condemned them to the position of a persecuted minority, cut off from outside aid and constantly on the defensive before the Whigs, who instituted a program of loyalty oaths to the revolutionary governments along with terror, banishment, and confiscation to consolidate their position. In despair, some Loyalists, particularly those in the South Carolina Piedmont, fled to the British forces in East Florida led by Joseph Robinson, Thomas Brown, and Evan McLaurin. John York, Richard Paris, and Joseph Coffel of anti-Regulator fame led sizable parties during 1777 and 1778. These refugees brought word that a strong, persecuted minority in the upcountry was ready to assemble at a favorable moment.

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others to their former homes, and perhaps as many as four thousand melted away into the wilderness of the southwest, some going as far as the lower Mississippi.[10]

Although Kentucky was subject to raids and eastern Tennessee quickly came under the control of the Whigs at the start of the war, throughout the conflict the infant settlements across the mountains were a refuge for those who wished to escape the turmoil of the Revolution. Brown's settlement on the Nolichucky River contained some Tories, but bands of mounted rangers from the Holston and Watauga settlements hunted down Loyalists and those suspected of harboring them. More than seventy suspects were captured and forced to take an oath to be true to the rights and liberties of America, and others were forced into the Continental army and had their lands confiscated by the court of Washington County. After 1778 many who were not in sympathy with the Revolution, fled the Watauga settlements for the lower Mississippi and Kentucky river areas.

Since few questions were asked in the Kentucky settlements, refugees who sought to escape the troubles in the East went there. Attempting to win over these frontiersmen, British authorities offered them 200 acres of land, humane treatment, and protection from the Indians. Despite the efforts of the Whig leaders along the Ohio frontier, some settlers did desert, and individuals and groups who had been captured often accepted the British offer. A few later returned to the Patriot side. The entire population of Martin's and Ruddle's stations who surrendered in 1780 to a British force took up lands about Detroit and Niagara.[11] As did many others, they simply made the best of a difficult situation, one not of their own choosing.

Few in the back settlements had a real choice during the Revolution. Most, perhaps, would have preferred to be neutral. But those who did take sides did so for a variety of reasons that cannot be explained entirely by class, religion, or any other factor extending to groups. In many instances the choice was an intensely personal one.

The History of South Carolina in the Revolution 1775-1780

Edward McCrady, LLD

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IN

THE REVOLUTION

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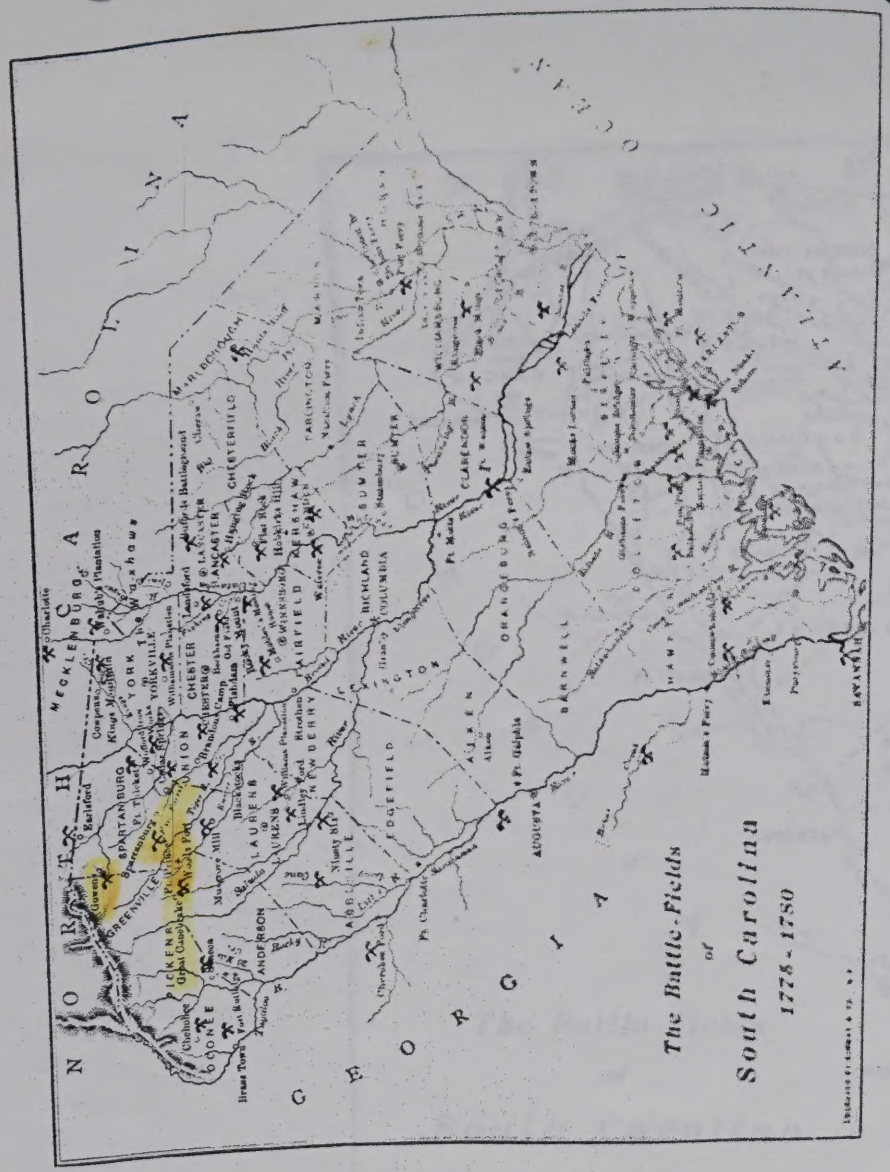

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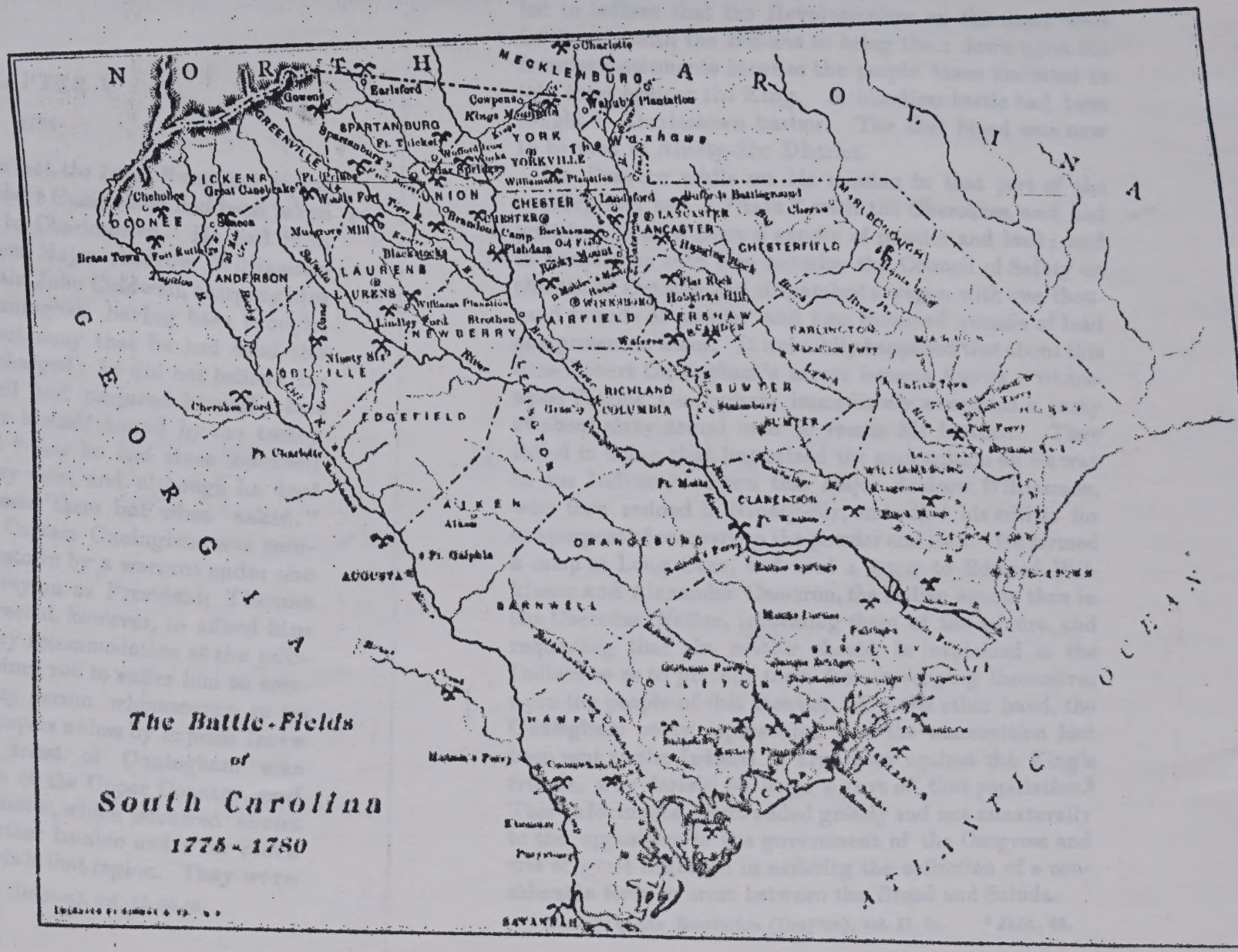
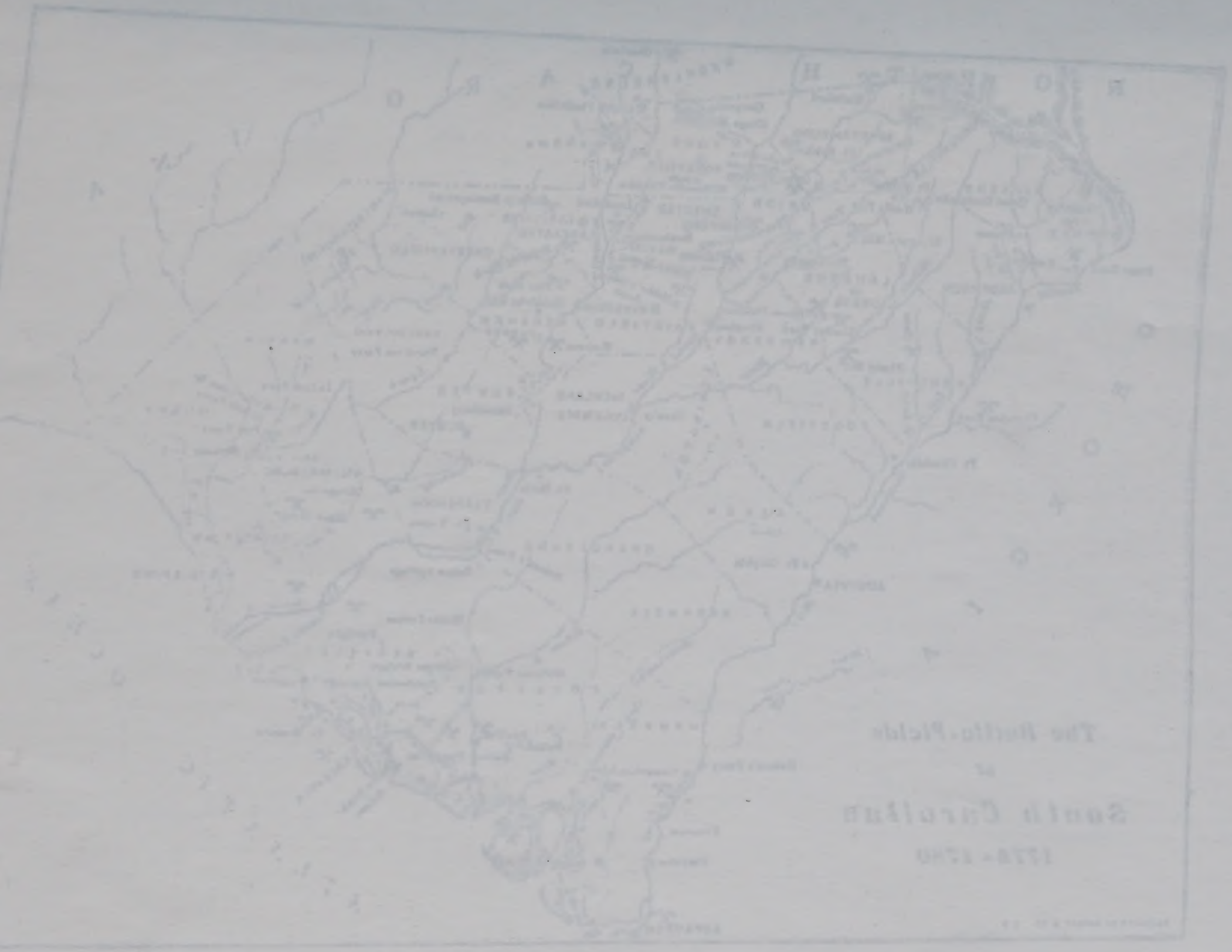

The Battle-Fields
of
South Carolina
1775 - 1780
NORTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MECKLENBURG
YORK
SPARTANBURG
UNION
CHESTER
LANCASTER
CHESTERFIELD
PICKENS
OCONEE
ANDERSON
LAURENS
NEWBERRY
FAIRFIELD
KERSHAW
DARLINGTON
MARION
MARLBOROUGH
RICHLAND
COLUMBIA
SUMTER
EDGEFIELD
ABBEVILLE
AIKEN
ORANGEBURG
CLARENDON
WILLIAMSBURG
BARNWELL
COLLETON
HAMPTON
BERKELEY
GREENVILLE
Charlotte
Earlsford
Gowen
Great Cane Brake
Brass Town
Fort Ruthledge
Chehulloe
Cowpens
Kings Mountain
Walnut's Plantation
The Waxhaws
Yorkville
Williamson's Plantation
Landford
Buford's Battleground
Cheraw
Camden
Hobkirk's Hill
Flat Rock
Winnsboro
Blackstocks
Mulcaster Mill
Ninety Six
Cherokee Ford
Ft. Charlotte
Ft. Galphin
Augusta
Savannah
Ft. Motte
Eutaw Springs
Monck's Ferry



CHAPTER V

1775

On the day the Congress met, the 1st of November, it was informed that Captain Robert Cuningham had been taken into custody and brought to Charlestown. He had been arrested under orders from Major Andrew Williamson upon the affidavit of Captain John Caldwell, charging him with seditious words. Cuningham having been brought before the Congress did not deny that he had used the words with which he was charged; he did not believe, he said, that Captain Caldwell had perjured himself; but though he did not consider himself bound by the treaty at Ninety-Six, he averred "that he had since behaved himself as peaceably as any man, and although he had opinions he had not expressed them but when asked." Upon this frank statement Captain Cuningham was committed to the jail of Charlestown by a warrant under the hand of William Henry Drayton as President; Thomas Grimball the Sheriff was directed, however, to afford him every reasonable and necessary accommodation at the public charge. But he was enjoined not to suffer him to converse or correspond with any person whomsoever, or to have the use of pen, ink, or papers unless by express leave from the Congress.[1] The arrest of Cuningham was deeply resented by the people of the Upper Country, and in connection with another matter, which occurred about the same time, occasioned further trouble and a far more serious disaffection of the people in that region. They were

[1] *Memoirs of the Revolution* (Drayton), vol. II, 60–61.

led to believe that the Revolutionists on the coast were intriguing with the Indians to bring them down upon the frontier settlements because the people there hesitated to join them against the King. A bloodless battle had been fought in Charlestown harbor. The first blood was now to be shed in Ninety-Six District.

Mr. Drayton while on his mission in that part of the country had had a "talk" with the Cherokees, and had promised to send them a supply of powder and lead; and in compliance with this promise the Council of Safety on the 4th of October had dispatched a wagon with one thousand pounds of powder and two thousand pounds of lead as a present to them. It unluckily happened that about this time Robert Cuningham's arrest became known; whereupon Patrick Cuningham immediately assembled a party of about sixty armed men to rescue his brother. They failed in doing that, but seized the ammunition on its way to the Indians.[1] Upon this Major Andrew Williamson, who then resided in Ninety-Six, embodied his militia for the purpose of recovering the powder and lead. He formed a camp at Long Cane, and sent a letter to Edward Wilkinson and Alexander Cameron, the Indian agents then in the Cherokee Nation, informing them of the seizure, and requesting that the matter should be explained to the Indians so as to prevent them from revenging themselves upon the people of this frontier. On the other hand, the Cuningham party represented that the ammunition had been sent to the Indians to arm them against the King's friends, who formed so large a part of that population.[2] This unfortunate event added greatly and not unnaturally to the opposition to the government of the Congress and was of great influence in assisting the collection of a considerable force in arms between the Broad and Saluda.

[1] *Memoirs of the Revolution* (Drayton), vol. II, 64. [2] *Ibid.*, 65.

What action should be taken in this emergency was the subject of another contention between the two parties in the Congress, Arthur Middleton as usual urging vigorous measures and Rawlins Lowndes opposing them. The parties were so evenly divided that in a hundred votes two decided the question. Fifty-one supported Middleton and forty-nine Lowndes. By this vote, on the 8th of November, it was determined to assemble a force under Colonel Richard Richardson, and to send him to seize Patrick Cuningham, Henry O'Neal, Hugh Brown, David Reese, Nathaniel Howard, Henry Green, and Jacob Bochman, the leaders of the Royal party. Captain Ezekiel Polk, who had been led to desert the cause by Moses Kirkland in August, had returned and had been taken back into favor, and was again given a company. He now accompanied Colonel Richardson. There was another person in this expedition, whom, before this book closes, we shall find becoming the real leader in the struggle for the American cause, and who, with others whose names were scarcely yet known, was to redeem the State after it had been overrun and lost to those who were now in control of the revolutionary movements. This was Thomas Sumter, and this was the manner in which he was received into the ranks of the Revolutionary party. "We have consulted with Colonel Richardson touching Mr. Sumter's application to the Council," wrote William Henry Drayton and the Rev. Mr. Tennent to the Council of Safety. "The Colonel readily approved not only of the measure, but of the man, notwithstanding Kirkland recommended him as his successor in the company of Rangers which he quitted and attempted to disband. *The Colonel nevertheless from his seeming connection with Kirkland proposes to keep a sharp eye upon Mr. Sumter's conduct.*" Sumter thus entered the service under suspicion and upon probation.

In this expedition he acted as Colonel Richardson's Adjutant General.[1]

In the meanwhile the Congress men under Williamson and the King's men under Cuningham continued embodying their forces. Williamson lay almost a fortnight at Ninety-Six Court House, receiving those who came in and waiting for Colonel Thomson with the Rangers. Captain Richard Pearis, who, then acting with the Revolutionary party, had accompanied Mr. Drayton on his visit to the Indians, disappointed that he had not received the military position he desired, now changed sides and joined the King's party. He charged the Council of Safety with the design of bringing down the Cherokees upon the settlements to cut off all the King's men. He went so far as to make affidavit that the ammunition taken by Patrick Cuningham was on the way to the Cherokee Nation for that purpose. As it was known that he had brought the Indians who had met Mr. Drayton in September, it was naturally supposed that he was acquainted with the intentions of the Council, and his assertions were readily believed. The King's party was thus speedily swelled in numbers, while Williamson's militia came in but slowly. Williamson, however, could not believe that the Loyalists would dare to attack him, until the 18th of November, when he received certain information that they were in full march upon him and had actually crossed the Saluda River for the purpose. Major Mayson now joined him with a small party of Rangers and proposed to march at once, themselves assume the offensive, and attack their opponents in camp. A council of war was called which, as councils of war usually do, overruled this vigorous plan of operations.

[1] *Memoirs of the Revolution* (Drayton), vol. II, 65, 69; Gibbes's *Doc. History*, 1764–76, 129.

On the contrary, Williamson with his forces fell back to a position near the Court House, where they fortified themselves as far as they could before the appearance of the opposing forces. They had hardly closed their slight fortification when on Sunday, the 19th of November, Major Robinson and Captain Patrick Cuningham appeared with their party. A conference was called, and a meeting took place between Major Mayson and Captain Bowie on the one side, and Robinson, Cuningham, and Evan McLaurin on the other. Robinson and his party demanded that Major Williamson's militia should surrender their arms and disband. While Williamson was considering this demand two of his men were seized by the other party, whereupon he gave orders to rescue them, and thus brought on a conflict, the first bloodshed in the Revolution in South Carolina. For two hours and a half the firing on both sides was incessant. The garrison including officers consisted of 562[1] men, while the number

[1] A return of the militia and volunteers on duty in the fortified camp at Ninety-Six on Sunday, the 19th of November, 1775, under the command of Major Andrew Williamson. By order of the Honorable, the Provincial Congress.

Number of companies.	Commanding officers' names of the several companies.	Number of officers	Number of sergeants	Number of privates	Total.	Total of all ranks in the camp.
1	George Reed	1	2	22	25	
2	Andrew Pickens	2	3	35	40	
3	Aaron Smith	3	2	12	17	
4	Benjamin Tutt	3	2	29	34	
5	Andrew Hamilton	3	2	18	23	
6	Thomas Langden	2	1	9	12	
7	Adam Crane Jones	2	2	22	26	
8	Mathew Berand	3	0	10	13	
9	Charles Williams	1	2	8	11	

of besiegers was about 1890. The siege lasted two days, during which Major Williamson's men suffered great hardship, though but one man was killed and twelve wounded; while on the other side several were killed and about twenty wounded. On Tuesday, the 21st, at sunset the King's party displayed a white flag and called a parley, in which Major Robinson renewed his former demand, allowing only one hour for answer. Captain Bowie was sent at once with the joint answer of Majors Williamson and

Number of companies.	Commanding officers' names of the several companies.	Number of officers.	Number of sergeants.	Number of privates.	Total.	Total of all ranks in the camp.
10	Francis Logan	2	1	15	18	
11	Alexander Noble	2	0	2	4	
12	John Anderson	2	1	8	11	
13	James Williams	2	2	24	28	
14	Robert McCreary	3	2	25	30	
15	John Rodgers	3	2	15	20	
16	Jacob Colson*	2	1	15	18	
17	Hugh Middleton	1	0	2	3	
18	Francis Sinquefield	2	0	15	17	
19	James McCall	3	3	48	54	
20	David Hunter	2	2	15	19	
21	John Erwin	3	2	21	26	
22	Robert Anderson	2	1	15	18	
23	Nathaniel Abney	3	2	18	23	
24	William Wilson	2	1	13	16	
25	Joseph Hamilton Artillery	1	0	16	17	
		55	36	432	523	
	Major Williamson				1	
	Major Mayson				1	
	Major Mayson's Rangers				37	562

* Captain Colson's company were volunteers from Georgia.

— *Memoirs of the Revolution* (Drayton), vol. II, 150.

On the contrary, Williamson with his forces fell back to a position near the Tyger River, which he strengthened thereafter as far as time would before the appearance of the opposing force. They had hardly closed their slight fortification when on Sunday, the 13th of September, Major Robinson and Captain Patrick Cunningham appeared with their party. A conference was called, and a meeting took place between Major Williamson and Captain Bowie on the one side, and Robinson, Cunningham, and Ryan McLaurin on the other. Robinson and his party demanded that Major Williamson's militia should surrender their arms and disband. While Williamson was considering this demand two of his men were seized by the other party, whereupon he gave orders to rescue them, and thus brought on a conflict, the first bloodshed in the Revolution in South Carolina. For two hours and a half the firing on both sides was incessant. The garrison including officers consisted of 200 men, while the number

[1] A roster of the militia and volunteers on duty in the fortified camp at Ninety-Six on Sunday, the 13th of September, 1775, under the command of Major Andrew Williamson. By order of the Honorable, the Provincial Congress.

No.	Commanding officers' names at the several camps	Captains	Lieutenants	Ensigns	Sergeants	Corporals	Drummers	Privates	Total	Guns in camp at time of attack
1	George Hand	1	2	1	3	3	1	25	35	
2	Andrew Pickens	1	2	1	3	3	1	31	40	
3	Andrew Crooks	1	2	1	3	3	1	15	27	
4	Benjamin Tate	1	2	1	3	3	1	20	34	
5	Andrew Hamilton	1	2	1	3	3	1	18	32	
6	Thomas Langston	1	2	1	3	3	1	8	19	
7	Adam Crow Jones	1	2	1	3	3	1	20	35	
8	Mathew Stewart	1	2	1	3	3	1	10	25	
9	Charles Thomson	1	2	1	3	3	1	15	30	
10	Francis Lesesne	1	2	1	3	3	1	15	30	
11	Alexander Noble	1	2	1	3	3	1	5	20	
12	John Andrews	1	2	1	3	3	1	8	21	
13	James Williams	1	2	1	3	3	1	22	38	
14	Robert McCready	1	2	1	3	3	1	22	36	
15	John Hudgens	1	2	1	3	3	1	12	26	
16	Jacob Coleman*	1	2	1	3	3	1	15	28	
17	Hugh Middleton	1	2	1	3	3	1	5	20	
18	Francis Sharpe[illegible]	1	2	1	3	3	1	15	27	
19	James McCall	1	2	1	3	3	1	46	58	
20	Daniel Hunter	1	2	1	3	3	1	15	30	
21	John Evans	1	2	1	3	3	1	21	36	
22	Robert Anderson	1	2	1	3	3	1	15	29	
23	Satisfield Abney	1	2	1	3	3	1	15	28	
24	William Wilson	1	2	1	3	3	1	12	26	
25	Joseph Hamilton Artillery	1	2	1	3	3	1	10	27	
		25	50	25	75	75	25	425	625	
	Major Williamson								1	
	Major Moultrie								1	
	Major Sullivan's Rangers								32	4[illegible]

Mayson, that they were determined never to resign their arms. In two hours Major Robinson returned with Captain Patrick Cunningham, and upon their withdrawing the peremptory demand for surrender it was agreed that a conference should take place the next morning. Accordingly, at the appointed hour, Majors Williamson and Mayson with Captains Pickens and Bowie met Major Robinson, Captain Cunningham, Evan McLaurin, and Pearis, when it was agreed that hostilities should immediately cease, that the garrison should be marched out of their improvised fort and their swivels given up, which by a secret agreement for that purpose were in a day or two privately restored. This mock surrender of the swivels was agreed upon by the leaders to appease a large party of the besiegers who, while the negotiation was progressing, demanded their surrender. The treaty further stipulated that the public differences should be submitted to Lord William Campbell the Governor on the part of the King's men, and to the Council of Safety on the part of Major Williamson and those under his command; that each party should send messengers to their principals, and twenty days be allowed for their return; that Major Robinson should withdraw his men over the Saluda River, and keep them there or disperse them as he pleased until he should receive his Excellency's orders; that no person of either party should be molested in returning home; that should reënforcements arrive, they should be bound by the treaty; that all prisoners should be set at liberty, the fortifications levelled, and the well which had been dug in the forts filled up.[1]

Such was the rather inglorious end of an affair which otherwise, however, might have produced the most disastrous consequences, and at once have inaugurated the

[1] *Memoirs of the Revolution* (Drayton), vol. II. 118, 120.

fratricidal strife which later drenched this fair land in blood. It was not, however, entirely to the advantage of Major Williamson's party; for the other was composed of much more discordant materials than his own, and could not have been kept inactively together. It was observed that none of those who had signed the treaty of Ninety-Six with Mr. Drayton took any open part in this rising except McLaurin. Colonel Fletchall, it is true, was charged with privately encouraging it. The whole enterprise of this heterogeneous mass calling themselves King's men — some acting upon principle and more perhaps from timidity, believing the story of the Indians in the affidavit of Pearis — was based upon the belief that Major Williamson's party would immediately surrender and submit. Without a leader capable of controlling them by influence or authority, and every officer thinking himself on a footing with Major Robinson, the head of the expedition, the party soon fell to pieces.

In the meanwhile Matthew Floyd, the messenger sent by Major Robinson to Lord William Campbell under the terms of the treaty, arrived in Charlestown and applied to the Council of Safety for permission to repair to his Lordship on board the British man-of-war, declaring that he had lost his dispatches, and therefore it was necessary he should himself give his Excellency accounts of the transaction at Ninety-Six. This story of the loss of his dispatches naturally created suspicion, and the Council of Safety in allowing him to go to his Excellency required that he should be accompanied by one Mr. Merchant on the part of the Council, who was required to be present at any interview and conversation between Lord William and Floyd. But notwithstanding Mr. Merchant's remonstrance, as soon as Floyd was on board Lord William took him down into his cabin, where, with Innes his

secretary, they had a private interview; and upon its conclusion Innes informed Mr. Merchant that his Lordship desired he would return and inform those who had sent him that Floyd was a messenger from a friend of the government and must be detained until his Lordship had determined on his answer. Upon this the Council, indignant at the conduct of the Governor, issued an order for the arrest of Floyd upon his landing from the man-of-war; and, accordingly, two days after, upon his attempting secretly to pass through the town at night, he was seized and taken before that body. There he was examined, and it was drawn from him that Lord William had directed him to tell those who sent him "to do everything they could for the best advantage — that he did not desire any effusion of blood, but whatever they should do would meet with his concurrence." A weaker and more mischievous message it is difficult to conceive; but surely the Council having received the messenger sent by the King's friends under a treaty made by Williamson and Mayson their officers, good faith demanded that he should be allowed to return and deliver his Lordship's message, whether that message was for peace or war. But the Council took a different view and put Floyd in jail.[1]

In the meanwhile Colonel Richardson had commenced his march under the orders of the Council and was directing his course toward Colonel Fletchall's command over the Broad River; but learning of Williamson's investment, he changed his direction and proceeded by forced marches to the Congaree River, which he crossed. By the 3d of November his force had increased to fifteen hundred men, when calling a council of war it was decided that his army was not bound by the treaty of cessation at Ninety-Six, and at once made preparation for crossing the Saluda

[1] *Memoirs of the Revolutionary*, vol. II. 123, 125.

into the Dutch Fork.[1] This was clearly another violation of the treaty; for Williamson and Mayson had expressly stipulated that should reenforcements arrive, they should be bound by it. The former leaders of the King's party had stood by the stipulations which they had made with Mr. Drayton. None of them except McLaurin were found in Robinson's command. It is true that Fletchall was suspected of privately encouraging the movement; but this was mere suspicion, ostensibly at least he was scrupulously observing his engagement. On the other hand, Colonel Richardson, under the government of which Mr. Drayton was the President, disregarding the terms upon which Williamson and Mayson had been released from that siege, marched upon those who, on the faith of the treaty, had disbanded their forces.

On the 2d of December Colonel Richardson pushed forward into the Dutch Fork and encamped near McLaurin's store, fifteen miles from the Saluda. At this camp several of Fletchall's captains were made prisoners, and Colonel Richardson issued a proclamation calling upon the inhabitants to deliver up the bodies of Patrick Cuningham, Henry O'Neal, and others who had taken the ammunition, and those who had taken part in the siege of Ninety-Six; and to deliver up the ammunition taken by Cuningham, and the arms of all the aiders and abettors of these robbers, murderers, and disturbers of the peace. From the benefits of the proclamation all capital offenders were excluded; for these just punishment was declared to be in store. Here Colonel Richardson was joined by Colonel Thomas with 200 men, Colonel Neel with 200, Colonel Lyles with 150, which together with Colonel Thomson's regiments of Rangers and militia and his own regiment made his force amount in the whole to about 2500 men;

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[1] *Memoirs of the Revolution* (Drayton), vol. II, 123, 125.

in addition to which Colonel Polk was in full march from North Carolina with 600 men.

As Colonel Richardson's army advanced, the King's party fell back constantly retreating. They were thoroughly disheartened by the failure of the promises of Lord William Campbell and his weak conduct. Occasionally they would make a stand; but as soon as Colonel Richardson advanced, they would retreat. By the 12th of December Colonel Richardson's army, which then consisted of three thousand men, had penetrated far into the interior, and had taken several prisoners "of the first magnitude," as he described them in the letter to the Council of Safety. Among them were Colonel Thomas Fletchall, Captain Richard Pearis, and Captain Shuberg. Fletchall was found hidden in a large sycamore tree with a hollow seven or eight feet wide on Fair Forest Creek, from which he was unkennelled by the Rangers and some volunteers under Colonel Thomson, who had been sent to scour that part of the disaffected district and to beat up Fletchall's quarters.[1]

Richardson pressed forward through all the inclemencies of the winter weather, though his men were thinly clothed and indifferently provided. He halted and encamped at Liberty Hill on the line between Newberry and Laurens counties, about four or five miles from the Enoree River. Here he collected his most important prisoners—those reputed to be the most active against the authority of the Provincial Congress, and placing them under the care of his son Captain Richard Richardson, Jr., he sent them under escort to Charlestown. Having thus divested himself of this care, and his force still further increased by

[1] From this time Fletchall disappears from the scene of the Revolution. After the fall of Charlestown he was in commission under the Crown, and in 1782 his estate was confiscated by the "Jacksonborough Legislature." Sabine's *Am. Loyalists*, 288; *Statutes of So. Ca.*, vol. VI, 1.

Colonels Rutherford and Graham of North Carolina with about five hundred men, and by Major Andrew Williamson and Captain Hammond with a party of Colonel Stephen Bull's regiment amounting to about eight hundred men, his whole force now amounting to between four thousand and five thousand strong, he scoured the whole of the upper country, penetrating four miles beyond the Cherokee boundary line to a place called the Great Cane Brake on Reedy River. At Cane Brake there was a camp of King's men which it was Richardson's object to break up. For this purpose he dispatched Colonel Thomson with about thirteen hundred men, who after a tedious march of near twenty-three miles on the 21st of December arrived within view of the Loyalists' campfires. Toward daylight of the 22d Thomson moved forward to attack, and had nearly surrounded the camp when his men were discovered; and a fight immediately took place. Patrick Cuningham escaped on a horse bareback, telling every one "to shift for himself." Great slaughter, it is said, would have ensued had not Colonel Thomson prevented it. Five or six of Cuningham's men were, however, killed, and one hundred and thirty were taken prisoners. Of Colonel Thomson's troops none were killed and only one was wounded.

Colonel Richardson now regarding the object of the campaign as accomplished, dismissed the North Carolina troops and breaking up his camp marched homewards. From the snow which fell in the latter part of the expedition it was called the "Snow Campaign."[1] The campaign was supposed to have completely broken up the King's party in the upper country, but its success to this extent was only apparent.

While Colonel Richardson was thus putting down the

[1] *Memoirs of the Revolution* (Drayton), vol. II, 126, 132.

opposition in the interior, the ship of war *Scorpion* arrived, having on board Governor Josiah Martin of North Carolina, who, like Lord William Campbell, had fled from his government. There were then two British Governors in Charlestown harbor on board the British fleet, which consisted of three ships of war, — the *Tamar*, the *Cherokee*, and the *Scorpion*.

Lord William Campbell was a weak man, but he was no coward. He had formerly been in the British navy and had commanded a vessel on the coast of Carolina and was familiar with naval affairs. Having now three men-of-war in the harbor, Captain Tolemache of the *Scorpion* and his Lordship proposed an attack upon Fort Johnson, but Captain Thornbrough of the *Tamar* declined to join in it, not believing that his ship could lie before the guns of the fort. Captain Tolemache, disappointed in this project, determined in some other way to distress the people who, he said, were in active rebellion. Accordingly, on the 6th of December, he seized two merchant sloops inward bound and regularly cleared, the one from St. Kitts and the other from Jamaica. On board the sloop from St. Kitts was a sum of money in specie, belonging to Messrs. Samuel and Benjamin Legaré of Charlestown. This money Captain Tolemache turned over to Lord William Campbell. Upon learning of this the gentlemen to whom the money belonged determined upon reprisal, and with a party of the light infantry company of which they were members seized and carried away from Lord William's residence his chariot and horses. Learning of this the Council at once summoned the parties before them, and having heard them repudiated their conduct and ordered the chariot and horses returned to Lady Campbell. They were accordingly sent to her by the messenger of the Council, but that lady indignantly refused to receive

them. Now that Lord William Campbell had deserted his post and abandoned his friends in the province, some of them were inclined to conciliate the powers that he had left in possession of the government. Among others, Fenwicke Bull, into whose balcony the mob that had tarred and feathered the gunner of Fort Johnson had flung a bag of feathers, telling him to keep them until his turn had come, seems to have been of this opinion, and having been sent to make a notarial demand of the captured vessels and the money belonging to the Legarés, on his return reported the conversation which had passed between Lord William, Captain Tolemache, and himself. From this it appeared that Captain Tolemache had, on his arrival, proposed to attack Fort Johnson, and would have done so, he avowed, if it had cost the lives of fifty men, and laid the town in ashes. He expected a reënforcement of two frigates and a bomb vessel, and he declared the town would surely be destroyed. He avowed the seizure of the Legaré money, but said that it had been delivered to Lord William, whose receipt he had for it. Lord William, on the contrary, declared that he had nothing to do with the money or the seizure. Upon this the Council of Safety gave the Legarés permission to sell the chariot and horses to reimburse themselves for their money in Lord William's hands. Lady Campbell withdrew on the 15th of December, and retired to her husband on board the *Cherokee*.[1]

Wishing, as it was said, to give some energy to the naval preparations which were going on about this time, and which it required an influential character to promote, the Council, as it did in every instance, turned to Mr. Drayton, and, notwithstanding that he was the President of the Provincial Congress, and as such the chief executive

[1] *Memoirs of the Revolution* (Drayton), vol. II, 158, 161.

CHAPTER V

1775

On the day the Congress met, the 1st of November, it was informed that Captain Robert Cuningham had been taken into custody and brought to Charlestown. He had been arrested under orders from Major Andrew Williamson upon the affidavit of Captain John Caldwell, charging him with seditious words. Cuningham having been brought before the Congress did not deny that he had used the words with which he was charged; he did not believe, he said, that Captain Caldwell had perjured himself; but though he did not consider himself bound by the treaty at Ninety-Six, he averred "that he had since behaved himself as peaceably as any man, and although he had opinions he had not expressed them but when asked." Upon this frank statement Captain Cuningham was committed to the jail of Charlestown by a warrant under the hand of William Henry Drayton as President; Thomas Grimball the Sheriff was directed, however, to afford him every reasonable and necessary accommodation at the public charge. But he was enjoined not to suffer him to converse or correspond with any person whomsoever, or to have the use of pen, ink, or papers unless by express leave from the Congress.[1] The arrest of Cuningham was deeply resented by the people of the Upper Country, and in connection with another matter, which occurred about the same time, occasioned further trouble and a far more serious disaffection of the people in that region. They were

[1] *Memoirs of the Revolution* (Drayton), vol. II, 60–61.

led to believe that the Revolutionists on the coast were intriguing with the Indians to bring them down upon the frontier settlements because the people there hesitated to join them against the King. A bloodless battle had been fought in Charlestown harbor. The first blood was now to be shed in Ninety-Six District.

Mr. Drayton while on his mission in that part of the country had had a "talk" with the Cherokees, and had promised to send them a supply of powder and lead; and in compliance with this promise the Council of Safety on the 4th of October had dispatched a wagon with one thousand pounds of powder and two thousand pounds of lead as a present to them. It unluckily happened that about this time Robert Cuningham's arrest became known; whereupon Patrick Cuningham immediately assembled a party of about sixty armed men to rescue his brother. They failed in doing that, but seized the ammunition on its way to the Indians.[1] Upon this Major Andrew Williamson, who then resided in Ninety-Six, embodied his militia for the purpose of recovering the powder and lead. He formed a camp at Long Cane, and sent a letter to Edward Wilkinson and Alexander Cameron, the Indian agents then in the Cherokee Nation, informing them of the seizure, and requesting that the matter should be explained to the Indians so as to prevent them from revenging themselves upon the people of this frontier. On the other hand, the Cuningham party represented that the ammunition had been sent to the Indians to arm them against the King's friends, who formed so large a part of that population.[2] This unfortunate event added greatly and not unnaturally to the opposition to the government of the Congress and was of great influence in assisting the collection of a considerable force in arms between the Broad and Saluda.

[1] *Memoirs of the Revolution* (Drayton), vol. II, 64. [2] *Ibid.*, 65.

What action should be taken in this emergency was the subject of another contention between the two parties in the Congress, Arthur Middleton as usual urging vigorous measures and Rawlins Lowndes opposing them. The parties were so evenly divided that in a hundred votes two decided the question. Fifty-one supported Middleton and forty-nine Lowndes. By this vote, on the 8th of November, it was determined to assemble a force under Colonel Richard Richardson, and to send him to seize Patrick Cuningham, Henry O'Neal, Hugh Brown, David Reese, Nathaniel Howard, Henry Green, and Jacob Bochman, the leaders of the Royal party. Captain Ezekiel Polk, who had been led to desert the cause by Moses Kirkland in August, had returned and had been taken back into favor, and was again given a company. He now accompanied Colonel Richardson. There was another person in this expedition, whom, before this book closes, we shall find becoming the real leader in the struggle for the American cause, and who, with others whose names were scarcely yet known, was to redeem the State after it had been overrun and lost to those who were now in control of the revolutionary movements. This was Thomas Sumter, and this was the manner in which he was received into the ranks of the Revolutionary party. "We have consulted with Colonel Richardson touching Mr. Sumter's application to the Council," wrote William Henry Drayton and the Rev. Mr. Tennent to the Council of Safety. "The Colonel readily approved not only of the measure, but of the man, notwithstanding Kirkland recommended him as his successor in the company of Rangers which he quitted and attempted to disband. *The Colonel nevertheless from his seeming connection with Kirkland proposes to keep a sharp eye upon Mr. Sumter's conduct.*" Sumter thus entered the service under suspicion and upon probation.

In this expedition he acted as Colonel Richardson's Adjutant General.[1]

In the meanwhile the Congress men under Williamson and the King's men under Cuningham continued embodying their forces. Williamson lay almost a fortnight at Ninety-Six Court House, receiving those who came in and waiting for Colonel Thomson with the Rangers. Captain Richard Pearis, who, then acting with the Revolutionary party, had accompanied Mr. Drayton on his visit to the Indians, disappointed that he had not received the military position he desired, now changed sides and joined the King's party. He charged the Council of Safety with the design of bringing down the Cherokees upon the settlements to cut off all the King's men. He went so far as to make affidavit that the ammunition taken by Patrick Cuningham was on the way to the Cherokee Nation for that purpose. As it was known that he had brought the Indians who had met Mr. Drayton in September, it was naturally supposed that he was acquainted with the intentions of the Council, and his assertions were readily believed. The King's party was thus speedily swelled in numbers, while Williamson's militia came in but slowly. Williamson, however, could not believe that the Loyalists would dare to attack him, until the 18th of November, when he received certain information that they were in full march upon him and had actually crossed the Saluda River for the purpose. Major Mayson now joined him with a small party of Rangers and proposed to march at once, themselves assume the offensive, and attack their opponents in camp. A council of war was called which, as councils of war usually do, overruled this vigorous plan of operations.

[1] *Memoirs of the Revolution* (Drayton), vol. II, 65, 69; Gibbes's *Doc. History*, 1764–76, 129.

On the contrary, Williamson with his forces fell back to a position near the Court House, where they fortified themselves as far as they could before the appearance of the opposing forces. They had hardly closed their slight fortification when on Sunday, the 19th of November, Major Robinson and Captain Patrick Cuningham appeared with their party. A conference was called, and a meeting took place between Major Mayson and Captain Bowie on the one side, and Robinson, Cuningham, and Evan McLaurin on the other. Robinson and his party demanded that Major Williamson's militia should surrender their arms and disband. While Williamson was considering this demand two of his men were seized by the other party, whereupon he gave orders to rescue them, and thus brought on a conflict, the first bloodshed in the Revolution in South Carolina. For two hours and a half the firing on both sides was incessant. The garrison including officers consisted of 562[1] men, while the number

[1] A return of the militia and volunteers on duty in the fortified camp at Ninety-Six on Sunday, the 19th of November, 1775, under the command of Major Andrew Williamson. By order of the Honorable, the Provincial Congress.

Number of companies.	Commanding officers' names of the several companies.	Number of officers.	Number of sergeants.	Number of privates.	Total.	Total of all ranks in the camp.
1	George Reed	1	2	22	25	
2	Andrew Pickens	2	3	35	40	
3	Aaron Smith	3	2	12	17	
4	Benjamin Tutt	3	2	29	34	
5	Andrew Hamilton	3	2	18	23	
6	Thomas Langden	2	1	9	12	
7	Adam Crane Jones	2	2	22	26	
8	Mathew Beraud	3	0	10	13	
9	Charles Williams	1	2	8	11	

of besiegers was about 1890. The siege lasted two days, during which Major Williamson's men suffered great hardship, though but one man was killed and twelve wounded; while on the other side several were killed and about twenty wounded. On Tuesday, the 21st, at sunset the King's party displayed a white flag and called a parley, in which Major Robinson renewed his former demand, allowing only one hour for answer. Captain Bowie was sent at once with the joint answer of Majors Williamson and

Number of companies.	Commanding officers' names of the several companies.	Number of officers.	Number of sergeants.	Number of privates.	Total.	Total of all ranks in the camp.
10	Francis Logan	2	1	15	18	
11	Alexander Noble	2	0	2	4	
12	John Anderson	2	1	8	11	
13	James Williams	2	2	24	28	
14	Robert McCreary	3	2	25	30	
15	John Rodgers	3	2	15	20	
16	Jacob Colson[a]	2	1	15	18	
17	Hugh Middleton	1	0	2	3	
18	Francis Sinquefield	2	0	15	17	
19	James McCall	3	3	48	54	
20	David Hunter	2	2	15	19	
21	John Erwin	3	2	21	26	
22	Robert Anderson	2	1	15	18	
23	Nathaniel Abney	3	2	18	23	
24	William Wilson	2	1	13	16	
25	Joseph Hamilton Artillery	1	0	16	17	
		55	36	432	523	
	Major Williamson				1	
	Major Mayson				1	
	Major Mayson's Rangers				37	562

[a] Captain Colson's company were volunteers from Georgia.

— *Memoirs of the Revolution* (Drayton), vol. II, 150.

Mayson, that they were determined never to resign their arms. In two hours Major Robinson returned with Captain Patrick Cunningham, and upon their withdrawing the peremptory demand for surrender it was agreed that a conference should take place the next morning. Accordingly, at the appointed hour, Majors Williamson and Mayson with Captains Pickens and Bowie met Major Robinson, Captain Cunningham, Evan McLaurin, and Pearis, when it was agreed that hostilities should immediately cease, that the garrison should be marched out of their improvised fort and their swivels given up, which by a secret agreement for that purpose were in a day or two privately restored. This mock surrender of the swivels was agreed upon by the leaders to appease a large party of the besiegers who, while the negotiation was progressing, demanded their surrender. The treaty further stipulated that the public differences should be submitted to Lord William Campbell the Governor on the part of the King's men, and to the Council of Safety on the part of Major Williamson and those under his command; that each party should send messengers to their principals, and twenty days be allowed for their return; that Major Robinson should withdraw his men over the Saluda River, and keep them there or disperse them as he pleased until he should receive his Excellency's orders; that no person of either party should be molested in returning home; that should reënforcements arrive, they should be bound by the treaty; that all prisoners should be set at liberty, the fortifications levelled, and the well which had been dug in the forts filled up.[1]

Such was the rather inglorious end of an affair which otherwise, however, might have produced the most disastrous consequences, and at once have inaugurated the

[1] *Memoirs of the Revolution* (Drayton), vol. II. 118, 120.

fratricidal strife which later drenched this fair land in blood. It was not, however, entirely to the advantage of Major Williamson's party; for the other was composed of much more discordant materials than his own, and could not have been kept inactively together. It was observed that none of those who had signed the treaty of Ninety-Six with Mr. Drayton took any open part in this rising except McLaurin. Colonel Fletchall, it is true, was charged with privately encouraging it. The whole enterprise of this heterogeneous mass calling themselves King's men — some acting upon principle and more perhaps from timidity, believing the story of the Indians in the affidavit of Pearis — was based upon the belief that Major Williamson's party would immediately surrender and submit. Without a leader capable of controlling them by influence or authority, and every officer thinking himself on a footing with Major Robinson, the head of the expedition, the party soon fell to pieces.

In the meanwhile Matthew Floyd, the messenger sent by Major Robinson to Lord William Campbell under the terms of the treaty, arrived in Charlestown and applied to the Council of Safety for permission to repair to his Lordship on board the British man-of-war, declaring that he had lost his dispatches, and therefore it was necessary he should himself give his Excellency accounts of the transaction at Ninety-Six. This story of the loss of his dispatches naturally created suspicion, and the Council of Safety in allowing him to go to his Excellency required that he should be accompanied by one Mr. Merchant on the part of the Council, who was required to be present at any interview and conversation between Lord William and Floyd. But notwithstanding Mr. Merchant's remonstrance, as soon as Floyd was on board Lord William took him down into his cabin, where, with Innes his

secretary, they had a private interview; and upon its conclusion Innes informed Mr. Merchant that his Lordship desired he would return and inform those who had sent him that Floyd was a messenger from a friend of the government and must be detained until his Lordship had determined on his answer. Upon this the Council, indignant at the conduct of the Governor, issued an order for the arrest of Floyd upon his landing from the man-of-war; and, accordingly, two days after, upon his attempting secretly to pass through the town at night, he was seized and taken before that body. There he was examined, and it was drawn from him that Lord William had directed him to tell those who sent him "to do everything they could for the best advantage — that he did not desire any effusion of blood, but whatever they should do would meet with his concurrence." A weaker and more mischievous message it is difficult to conceive; but surely the Council having received the messenger sent by the King's friends under a treaty made by Williamson and Mayson their officers, good faith demanded that he should be allowed to return and deliver his Lordship's message, whether that message was for peace or war. But the Council took a different view and put Floyd in jail.[1]

In the meanwhile Colonel Richardson had commenced his march under the orders of the Council and was directing his course toward Colonel Fletchall's command over the Broad River; but learning of Williamson's investment, he changed his direction and proceeded by forced marches to the Congaree River, which he crossed. By the 3d of November his force had increased to fifteen hundred men, when calling a council of war it was decided that his army was not bound by the treaty of cessation at Ninety-Six, and at once made preparation for crossing the Saluda

[1] *Memoirs of the Revolution* (Drayton), vol. II, 123, 125.

into the Dutch Fork.[1] This was clearly another violation of the treaty; for Williamson and Mayson had expressly stipulated that should reenforcements arrive, they should be bound by it. The former leaders of the King's party had stood by the stipulations which they had made with Mr. Drayton. None of them (except McLaurin) were found in Robinson's command. It is true that Fletchall was suspected of privately encouraging the movement; but this was mere suspicion, ostensibly at least he was scrupulously observing his engagement. On the other hand, Colonel Richardson, under the government of which Mr. Drayton was the President, disregarding the terms upon which Williamson and Mayson had been released from that siege, marched upon those who, on the faith of the treaty, had disbanded their forces.

On the 2d of December Colonel Richardson pushed forward into the Dutch Fork and encamped near McLaurin's store, fifteen miles from the Saluda. At this camp several of Fletchall's captains were made prisoners, and Colonel Richardson issued a proclamation calling upon the inhabitants to deliver up the bodies of Patrick Cuningham, Henry O'Neal, and others who had taken the ammunition, and those who had taken part in the siege of Ninety-Six; and to deliver up the ammunition taken by Cuningham, and the arms of all the aiders and abettors of these robbers, murderers, and disturbers of the peace. From the benefits of the proclamation all capital offenders were excluded; for these just punishment was declared to be in store. Here Colonel Richardson was joined by Colonel Thomas with 200 men, Colonel Neel with 200, Colonel Lyles with 150, which together with Colonel Thomson's regiments of Rangers and militia and his own regiment made his force amount in the whole to about 2500 men;

[1] *Memoirs of the Revolution* (Drayton), vol. II, 123, 125.

in addition to which Colonel Polk was in full march from North Carolina with 600 men.

As Colonel Richardson's army advanced, the King's party fell back constantly retreating. They were thoroughly disheartened by the failure of the promises of Lord William Campbell and his weak conduct. Occasionally they would make a stand; but as soon as Colonel Richardson advanced, they would retreat. By the 12th of December Colonel Richardson's army, which then consisted of three thousand men, had penetrated far into the interior, and had taken several prisoners "of the first magnitude," as he described them in the letter to the Council of Safety. Among them were Colonel Thomas Fletchall, Captain Richard Pearis, and Captain Shuberg. Fletchall was found hidden in a large sycamore tree with a hollow seven or eight feet wide on Fair Forest Creek, from which he was unkennelled by the Rangers and some volunteers under Colonel Thomson, who had been sent to scour that part of the disaffected district and to beat up Fletchall's quarters.[1]

Richardson pressed forward through all the inclemencies of the winter weather, though his men were thinly clothed and indifferently provided. He halted and encamped at Liberty Hill on the line between Newberry and Laurens counties, about four or five miles from the Enoree River. Here he collected his most important prisoners—those reputed to be the most active against the authority of the Provincial Congress, and placing them under the care of his son Captain Richard Richardson, Jr., he sent them under escort to Charlestown. Having thus divested himself of this care, and his force still further increased by

[1] From this time Fletchall disappears from the scene of the Revolution. After the fall of Charlestown he was in commission under the Crown, and in 1782 his estate was confiscated by the "Jacksonborough Legislature." Sabine's *Am. Loyalists*, 288; *Statutes of So. Ca.*, vol. VI, 1.

Colonels Rutherford and Graham of North Carolina with about five hundred men, and by Major Andrew Williamson and Captain Hammond with a party of Colonel Stephen Bull's regiment amounting to about eight hundred men, his whole force now amounting to between four thousand and five thousand strong, he scoured the whole of the upper country, penetrating four miles beyond the Cherokee boundary line to a place called the Great Cane Brake on Reedy River. At Cane Brake there was a camp of King's men which it was Richardson's object to break up. For this purpose he dispatched Colonel Thomson with about thirteen hundred men, who after a tedious march of near twenty-three miles on the 21st of December arrived within view of the Loyalists' campfires. Toward daylight of the 22d Thomson moved forward to attack, and had nearly surrounded the camp when his men were discovered; and a fight immediately took place. Patrick Cuningham escaped on a horse bareback, telling every one "to shift for himself." Great slaughter, it is said, would have ensued had not Colonel Thomson prevented it. Five or six of Cuningham's men were, however, killed, and one hundred and thirty were taken prisoners. Of Colonel Thomson's troops none were killed and only one was wounded.

Colonel Richardson now regarding the object of the campaign as accomplished, dismissed the North Carolina troops and breaking up his camp marched homewards. From the snow which fell in the latter part of the expedition it was called the "Snow Campaign."[1] The campaign was supposed to have completely broken up the King's party in the upper country, but its success to this extent was only apparent.

While Colonel Richardson was thus putting down the

[1] *Memoirs of the Revolution* (Drayton), vol. II, 126, 132.

opposition in the interior, the sloop of war *Scorpion* arrived, having on board Governor Josiah Martin of North Carolina, who, like Lord William Campbell, had fled from his government. There were then two British Governors in Charlestown harbor on board the British fleet, which consisted of three ships of war, — the *Tamar*, the *Cherokee*, and the *Scorpion*.

Lord William Campbell was a weak man, but he was no coward. He had formerly been in the British navy and had commanded a vessel on the coast of Carolina and was familiar with naval affairs. Having now three men-of-war in the harbor, Captain Tolemache of the *Scorpion* and his Lordship proposed an attack upon Fort Johnson, but Captain Thornbrough of the *Tamar* declined to join in it, not believing that his ship could lie before the guns of the fort. Captain Tolemache, disappointed in this project, determined in some other way to distress the people who, he said, were in active rebellion. Accordingly, on the 6th of December, he seized two merchant sloops inward bound and regularly cleared, the one from St. Kitts and the other from Jamaica. On board the sloop from St. Kitts was a sum of money in specie, belonging to Messrs. Samuel and Benjamin Legaré of Charlestown. This money Captain Tolemache turned over to Lord William Campbell. Upon learning of this the gentlemen to whom the money belonged determined upon reprisal, and with a party of the light infantry company of which they were members seized and carried away from Lord William's residence his chariot and horses. Learning of this the Council at once summoned the parties before them, and having heard them repudiated their conduct and ordered the chariot and horses returned to Lady Campbell. They were accordingly sent to her by the messenger of the Council, but that lady indignantly refused to receive

them. Now that Lord William Campbell had deserted his post and abandoned his friends in the province, some of them were inclined to conciliate the powers that he had left in possession of the government. Among others, Fenwicke Bull, into whose balcony the mob that had tarred and feathered the gunner of Fort Johnson had flung a bag of feathers, telling him to keep them until his turn had come, seems to have been of this opinion, and having been sent to make a notarial demand of the captured vessels and the money belonging to the Legarés, on his return reported the conversation which had passed between Lord William, Captain Tolemache, and himself. From this it appeared that Captain Tolemache had, on his arrival, proposed to attack Fort Johnson, and would have done so, he avowed, if it had cost the lives of fifty men, and laid the town in ashes. He expected a reënforcement of two frigates and a bomb vessel, and he declared the town would surely be destroyed. He avowed the seizure of the Legaré money, but said that it had been delivered to Lord William, whose receipt he had for it. Lord William, on the contrary, declared that he had nothing to do with the money or the seizure. Upon this the Council of Safety gave the Legarés permission to sell the chariot and horses to reimburse themselves for their money in Lord William's hands. Lady Campbell withdrew on the 15th of December, and retired to her husband on board the *Cherokee*.[1]

Wishing, as it was said, to give some energy to the naval preparations which were going on about this time, and which it required an influential character to promote, the Council, as it did in every instance, turned to Mr. Drayton, and, notwithstanding that he was the President of the Provincial Congress, and as such the chief executive

[1] *Memoirs of the Revolution* (Drayton), vol. II, 158, 161.

Loyalists and the American Revolution —

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LOYALISTS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: THOMAS BROWN AND THE SOUTH CAROLINA BACKCOUNTRY, 1775-1776

GARY D. OLSON*

In contrast to older studies some recent historians have emphasized the fact that the American Revolution was largely the work of small well-organized groups in each colony. In the light of this interpretation the efforts of the revolutionary party to rally the population to the "patriot cause" and the resistance made to their efforts becomes more significant. In the southern colonies the outcome of this competition for the support of the inhabitants was uncertain. Although the whigs managed to win initial control of the provinces their position was far from secure. In fact the tenuous nature of their position became the premise of the British administration's war strategy. Assured that a majority of the colonial population did not support the revolutionary cause the British believed that loyalists, if given the support of some regular troops, could overthrow the rebels and re-establish royal government. Another possible source of assistance to the loyalists in opposing the whigs were the Indians residing beyond the colonial frontier. Aware that the Indians, allied to the British, were a threat to their position the whigs earnestly tried to win their allegiance away from the British. Thus there developed a competition for the support or friendship of the Indians. The British, not without difficulty, managed to keep their support, but the problem of converting the tribesmen into effective military allies proved hard to resolve.

In the struggle between the whig and British-loyalist forces in the southern provinces, and particularly in South Carolina, many local inhabitants played important roles as leaders of one party or the other. One such loyalist was Thomas Brown. Little is known about the early life of Brown or his origins except that he was the son of Jonas Brown of Whitby, England. His correspondence attests to his having received a good education.[1] Most of the available information concerning Brown begins in 1773 when, attracted by inducements offered to prospective settlers by Governor Sir James Wright, he made plans to establish a

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[1] Extract of a letter from Savannah, Ga., to Mr. Morrison of Birtley White House near Newcastle, Eng. December 26, 1775, *Letters of the American Revolution, 1774-1776*, ed. Margaret W. Willard, Boston, 1925, p. 245.

plantation in Georgia. With the financial backing of his elder brother, Jonas Brown, a merchant in Kingston-upon-Hull, Brown chartered the ship *Marlborough* and embarked from Whitby on August 12, 1774. Sailing with him were twenty-one indented servants whom he had engaged at Whitby and fifty-three more taken aboard at the Orkney Islands north of Scotland. Thus in the fall of 1774 Thomas Brown landed at Savannah, Georgia, with seventy-four indented servants and the tools necessary to establish a plantation. He then proceeded to take possession of 5,600 acres of land located for him before his arrival along the Broad River in the northeastern part of the province, land ceded to Georgia only a little more than a year earlier by the Creek and Cherokee Indians.[2] In less than a year Brown developed a plantation with a large house and over thirty farm buildings and was looking forward to his first harvest which he estimated would yield nearly 2,000 bushels of wheat. Brown's planting operation was apparently so promising that he arranged for seventy-five more indented servants to be sent him in the fall of 1775.[3] Except for the American Revolution Thomas Brown would undoubtedly have remained a Georgia planter for the remainder of his life. From 1775 until the British evacuation of East Florida in 1785, however, Brown's efforts were bound inextricably to the British cause.

Until 1775 the revolutionary movement in South Carolina was confined primarily to the coastal region of the province and particularly to the city of Charleston. This was true despite the fact that the majority of the white population resided in the interior of the colony. Concentration of social, political, and commercial interests in Charleston had led to neglect of the interests of the backcountry. Consequently the back settlers possessed little government and participated only slightly in the political life of the province. They were not adequately represented in the Assembly and until 1772 had no courts above those of the justices of the peace. Thus very different conditions existed in the two sections of South Carolina in the latter part of the year 1774. In the lowcountry a willing-

[2] Brown's father tried, evidently without success, to secure for him a government position in Ga. or S. C. Jonas Brown to Nathaniel Cholmley, April 23, 1773, Great Britain, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fourteenth Report, Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth*, II, *American Papers*, London, 1895, appendix 10, 149. A proclamation by Sir James Wright, Governor of Georgia, June 11, 1773, British Public Record Office, Audit Office 13/34: 97. Memorial of Thomas Brown to the Commission of Loyalist Claims, April 21, 1788, BPRO, AO 13/34: 100. A muster roll of servants embarked at Whitby, and in the Orkney Islands . . . bound for Savannah in Georgia, to settle the plantations in the ceded lands, located for Thomas Brown, Esq., August 12, 1774, BPRO, AO 13/34: 122.

[3] A schedule of personal estate lost in 1775 when Col. Brown was dispossessed of his estate . . . BPRO, AO 13/34: 116.

ness to join the other colonies in resisting, even with force, the acts of the mother country had developed gradually since 1765. The people of the backcountry, however, had taken no part in the opposition to taxation by Parliament, and the slogan of no taxation without representation evoked little sympathy from people who had but slight representation in the colonial Assembly. Nor were they concerned with the struggles of the Assembly against the governor and Council. The backcountry population had as much or more reason to resent the actions of the Assembly as those of the British government.

As the possibility of an armed conflict became more and more certain, the revolutionary leaders of the lowcountry took measures to win the support of the backcountry. When the Provincial Congress met on January 11, 1775, it was composed of delegates from every quarter of the province. In addition a committee of correspondence was formed to shape the attitude of the back settlers favorable to the patriot cause. This central committee communicated with local committees established in the districts and parishes of the province to disseminate revolutionary propaganda.

On May 3rd a letter arrived in Charleston from Arthur Lee in London containing the fallacious charge that the British were planning to raise an Indian war and Negro insurrection against the colonies.[4] Two better accusations could not have been found to rally the population of South Carolina behind the patriot cause. The alarm caused by Lee's letter and the news of Lexington which arrived a few days later spurred the patriots to vigorous action. The Provincial Congress reconvened June 1, 1775, and immediately assumed extensive governmental powers. It ordered 1,500 special troops raised; authorized the issue of £1,000,000 in paper currency; created a Council of Safety of almost unlimited executive authority; and committed legislative authority during adjournment of the Congress to the General Committee. The extra-legal organs of the revolutionary party thus replaced royal government in South Carolina.

On June 3rd the Provincial Congress unanimously adopted an Association which pledged to "go forth and be ready to sacrifice our lives and fortunes against every foe" in defense of the liberty outraged "in the bloody scene of the 19th of April last, near Boston." All non-signers were to be dealt with according to "sound policy."[5] The Association which pledged men to war against their sovereign and to treat non-signers as enemies, was difficult enough for the conservative friends of

[4] David Duncan Wallace, *South Carolina, A Short History, 1520-1948*, Chapel Hill, 1951, pp. 258-260.

[5] "Miscellaneous Papers of the General Committee, Secret Committee and Provincial Congress, 1775," this *Magazine*, VIII (1907), 141.

liberty in the lowcountry to accept. But to a large segment of the backcountry it was completely unacceptable.

Active opposition to the measures of the Provincial Congress flared up in the backcountry. Whereas the Germans of Orangeburg[6] were inclined to be passive and hence not dangerous to the revolutionary cause, a militant Scotch-Irish loyalist party under Thomas Fletchall was forming in Ninety-Six district and an adjacent portion of Camden district.[7] As a prominent man in Ninety-Six district the people looked to Fletchall for leadership. In accordance with the policy of binding the local leaders of the province to the revolutionary movement the Provincial Congress named Fletchall to the committee in his district to carry out the Association.[8]

Lord William Campbell, the new governor, arrived in Charleston on June 18, 1775. To his surprise he discovered that effective government in South Carolina was in the hands of the revolutionary party. Within two weeks of his arrival, however, he was in contact with several "very respectable people" from Ninety-Six and Camden districts, who assured him that thousands of residents in those districts were loyal to the king. These emissaries suggested to the governor a "Counter-Association" to be circulated among and signed by the loyalists in the backcountry. Lord William Campbell encouraged this idea and promised the loyalists that they would be rewarded when it was in his power to do so.[9] Difficulty in communication was to limit the governor's role in organizing the tories of the backcountry. But his contribution was significant, for his support and encouragement enabled loyalist leaders such as Fletchall to appear before the people of the backcountry as the representatives of the legal government.

During the first week in July 1775 Fletchall received instructions from the Charleston committee of correspondence to muster his regiment

[6] The circuit court districts established in 1772 are used to designate the various sections of South Carolina. In general the three districts of Beaufort, Charleston, and Georgetown were the low country; Cheraw, Camden, Orangeburg and Ninety-Six districts were the backcountry. Parts of Cheraw, Orangeburg and Camden districts, however, must be considered a middle country because of the number of planters and slave holders residing there.

[7] Fletchall owned plantations on Fair Forest Creek and elsewhere in Ninety-Six district totaling 1,650 acres. As justice of the peace, coroner, and colonel of militia he was the most important personage between the Broad and Saluda rivers. BPRO, AO 12/52: 65; 13/128: 235.

[8] William M. Dabney and Marion Dargan, *William Henry Drayton and the American Revolution*, Albuquerque, 1962, p. 91.

[9] Lord William Campbell to Earl of Dartmouth, July 20, 1775, Records in the BPRO Relating to South Carolina, on microfilm in South Carolina Historical Society.

in order to secure the men's signatures to the Association. In compliance he assembled his regiment on July 13th. According to Fletchall the Association was read to "every company," but not "one man offered to sign it." Instead, said the Colonel, "it was agreed amongst the people in general to sign a paper of their own resolutions." These resolutions, drawn up by Joseph Robinson,[10] embodied the "Counter-Association" proposed to and encouraged by the governor. The resolutions were widely signed by men from "Savannah River to Broad River," or more specifically by the members of Fletchall's regiment of the upper Saluda, Colonel Stark's regiment of the forks of the Saluda, and part of Colonel Savage's regiment of Ninety-Six.[11]

The Robinson resolutions denied that King George had acted inconsistent with the principles of the "Constitution of the British Empire," and hence had not forfeited "his right to our allegiance." While the signers were determined not to take up arms against their king, they also desired to live in peace with their fellow countrymen "notwithstanding our . . . diversity of opinions." They, however, would recognize no other laws than those of his majesty's government.[12]

Reports of Fletchall's actions caused the revolutionary leaders in Charleston great uneasiness. Henry Laurens, president of the Council of Safety, complained that the colonel was acting as if he were "not a friend of the cause of liberty." In fact, Laurens was apprehensive that Fletchall had "been covertly taking an active part against us." On July 14th, the Council of Safety demanded "an open and explicit declaration" of Fletchall's position. They sent him a copy of the Association so that by signing he could demonstrate his "good will to the general cause."[13]

Fletchall was noncommittal in his reply to the Council. He related how his regiment had refused to sign the Association and protested that it "was out of my power to compel them to do so." He emphatically refused, however, "to take up arms against [his] king" until he found it his duty to do otherwise.[14]

[10] Joseph Robinson was settled on Broad River in Camden district. He was a major of the New Acquisition (Colonel Neel's) regiment of militia, located north of Fletchall's, and thus was a person of consequence in the backcountry. Egerton Ryerson, *The Loyalists of America and Their Times, 1620-1816*, Toronto, 1880, II, 215-216. Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1775-1780*, New York, 1901, pp. 12-15.

[11] Fletchall to Henry Laurens, July 24, 1775, R. W. Gibbes, *Documentary History of the American Revolution . . . Chiefly in South Carolina, 1764-1776*, New York, 1885, p. 123.

[12] Copy of the Fletchall-Robinson Resolutions, *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society*, Charleston, 1857, II, 72.

[13] Council of Safety to Fletchall, July 14, 1775, *ibid.*, p. 40.

[14] Fletchall to Henry Laurens, July 24, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, p. 123.

Thus, in July 1775, the patriots in South Carolina were vigorously working, through use of the Association and other means, to achieve a united opposition to the British. At the same time and in reaction to the efforts of the revolutionary party, the loyalist leaders in the backcountry were seeking, with the support of the governor and by means of a Counter-Association, to unite that section of the province in opposition to the patriots. This struggle for control of the backcountry increased in intensity during the succeeding months of 1775.

An open clash between the two parties soon occurred. On orders from the Council of Safety, Major James Mayson with two troops of provincial rangers headed by Captains John Caldwell and Moses Kirkland took possession of ungarrisoned Fort Charlotte on the Savannah River above Augusta.[15] Leaving Caldwell and his company to occupy the fort, Mayson and Kirkland proceeded to Ninety-Six courthouse with a quantity of the captured powder and shot.[16] There Kirkland learned that Colonel Fletchall was holding a general muster of his militia regiment at Ford's on Enoree River. Disappointed that Mayson rather than himself had been appointed major of the provincial rangers and probably thinking that the sentiment of the entire backcountry was strongly loyalist, Kirkland decided to change sides. He sent a message informing Fletchall that if troops were sent to Ninety-Six courthouse the ammunition taken from Fort Charlotte could be recovered without opposition. Kirkland then induced his company of rangers to go home leaving the powder and lead undefended.

Although Fletchall declined to participate personally in the scheme he did not prevent Joseph Robinson and two other zealous loyalists, Robert and Patrick Cunningham, from setting off with two hundred men. They arrived at the courthouse on the 17th and took possession of the ammunition. Kirkland then openly joined the loyalist party, and Mayson

[15] With more than half of South Carolina's twelve militia regiments in the backcountry, the Provincial Congress felt that it could not rely upon the regularly organized militia to carry out its purposes. Consequently, on June 3, 1775, it authorized the creation of a force independent of the militia to consist of three regiments. Two of the regiments were infantry, designed principally for service on the coast. The Third Regiment, consisting of mounted rangers, was recruited in the backcountry. William Thomson of Orangeburg was made colonel and James Mayson of Ninety-Six was made major of the backcountry rangers. Pierce Butler to ..... March 21, 1776, "Correspondence of the Honorable Arthur Middleton," this *Magazine*, XXVII (1926), 140; McCrady, *History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1775-1780*, pp. 12-15.

[16] Minutes of the Council of Safety, June 26, 1775, *Collections of SCHS*, II, 29. John Drayton, *Memoirs of the American Revolution, From Its Commencement to the Year 1776*, Charleston, 1821, I, 317. "Papers of the First Council of Safety of the Revolutionary Party," this *Magazine*, I (1900), 48.

was placed in jail.[17] When Governor Campbell learned of these events he authorized Fletchall to retake and garrison Fort Charlotte and to seek assistance from Alexander Cameron, British agent in the Cherokee country. Concluding his note in a paradoxical manner, Governor Campbell implored Fletchall to avoid giving offense to the patriots and to do everything possible to preserve peace in his district.[18] Some loyalists believed that the governor could have overthrown the revolutionary party in South Carolina at that moment by entering the backcountry and personally assuming leadership of Fletchall's party. The governor, however, felt that the risk was too great and allowed the opportunity to pass untested.[19]

Thus in the latter part of July 1775, the loyalists held a favorable position in the South Carolina backcountry. Kirkland's defection together with the seizure of the powder and humiliation of Mayson at Ninety-Six swelled the ranks of the tories between the Saluda and Savannah rivers. Even people from across the Savannah in Georgia were signing Robinson's Counter-Association. But in the backcountry of Georgia the liberty boys of Augusta were also active. As a result Thomas Brown was also caught up in the competition between the two opposing factions for the allegiance of the backcountry. Brown later described how "upwards of One Hundred armed Men" came to his plantation and "required him to sign an Association which implied a renounciation of his Allegiance to the British Government. . . ." Most of the patriot party left after he firmly refused to comply, but those who remained, Brown related, "became more urgent in their demand." When the liberty boys threatened to "drag him by force to Augusta" unless he subscribed to their Association, Brown retreated to his house and armed himself to resist. He withstood the whig party until he was rendered unconscious by a blow from a rifle barrel on his head. Then, according to Brown, they carried him about five miles, tied him to a tree, and "applyed burning torches of lightwood to the soles of his feet." The whig account of this event says that Brown in the end "consented *voluntarily* [author's italics] to swear that he repented for his past conduct," and "that he would do all in his power to discountenance the proceedings of . . . Fletchall's party . . . in the

[17] Drayton, *Memoirs of the Revolution*, I, 321.

[18] Fletchall to Campbell, July 19, 1775, and Campbell's reply, August 1, 1775, Great Britain, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fourteenth Report, Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth*, II, *American Papers*, London, 1895, appendix 10, 149.

[19] The governor's secretary, Alexander Innes, actually offered to slip into the backcountry, join Fletchall, and with the assistance of Cameron hold Fort Charlotte. Campbell rejected the offer. Campbell to Dartmouth, August 19, 1775, Records in the BPRO Relating to South Carolina, on microfilm in SCHS.

Ninety-Six district of South Carolina." A friend then furnished Brown with a horse, and his whig guard allowed him to escape.[20]

Burning with a desire for revenge Brown immediately proceeded to South Carolina and joined Fletchall's party in organizing the loyalists of the backcountry.[21] He arrived in the South Carolina upcountry just in time to help oppose and hamper the efforts of a group of commissioners sent into the interior by the Charleston Council of Safety. These whig emissaries had been sent to "explain" to the people the nature of the "unhappy dispute" between Great Britain and the American colonies, to endeavor to settle all political disputes, and to "quiet their minds and to force the necessity of a general union, in order to preserve themselves and their children from slavery." To better ensure the accomplishment of their mission the commissioners possessed the authority to call on the militia and rangers for such assistance, support, and protection as they deemed necessary.[22] The importance the whigs attached to the success of the mission is attested to by its personnel. The commission consisted of William Henry Drayton, the Reverend William Tennent, Joseph Kershaw, Col. Richard Richardson, and the Reverend Oliver Hart. Drayton, who had become the leading radical of the province after being dismissed from the colonial Council through the efforts of John Stuart and other royal officials, provided the leadership and oratorical strength of the delegation. Tennent, an active patriot and the pastor of the Independent church in Charleston, was to exert his influence among the dissenting groups of the backcountry.[23]

[20] The Supplemental Memorial of Thomas Brown to the Commissioners for inquiring into the Losses and Services of the American Loyalists, April 21, 1788, BPRO, AO 13/34: 113-115. Wilbur Siebert, *Loyalists In East Florida 1774-1785*, Deland, Fla., 1929, II, 323.

[21] A rumor that Brown had gone to ask Fletchall's assistance in taking revenge caused great alarm in Augusta. In panic the town committee circulated a report that Brown and Fletchall with close to 1,000 men were descending upon them and appealed to Lieutenant Colonel Grierson of the local militia for protection. If Brown did attempt such a move, a failure to raise men or the approach of the whig commissioners induced him to abandon the effort. In any event the Georgia whigs branded Brown as "inimical to the rights and liberties of America" and hoped that "all good men" would treat him accordingly. Extract of the *Georgia Gazette*, August 4, 1775, *Historical Collections of Georgia*, ed. George White, Augusta, 1855, p. 606. James Wright to Grierson, August 17, 1775, *Colonial Records of Georgia*, ed. Allen Chandler, Atlanta, 1907, XII, 437. George Galphin to Council of Safety of Savannah, August 9, 1775, "Papers of the First Council of Safety," this *Magazine*, I (1900), 125.

[22] Minutes of the Council of Safety, July 23, 1775, *Collections of SCHS*, II, 53.

[23] The other three members also possessed special qualifications for the mission. Kershaw had been a champion of backcountry rights in 1768; Richardson, a large landholder in the region east of the Wateree River had the confidence of

The commissioners' objective was to win converts to the patriot cause and to secure signatures to the Association. Securing the allegiance and control of the backcountry militia, however, was most important. The patriots' initial tactic of depending solely on the three regiments of provincial troops they had authorized was nullified by the recruiting activities of loyalist leaders such as Fletchell and Kirkland in the backcountry. Consequently, the Council of Safety ordered the provincial colonels of militia to form volunteer companies out of their respective regiments which were to elect their own officers. The reorganized royal militia was thus placed under the jurisdiction of the revolutionary government wherever the regimental colonel supported the patriot cause. The commissioners hoped to win over the colonels, but if they were unable to do this they intended to organize voluntary companies by appealing directly to the men themselves.[24]

The delegation of "missionaries" began proselytizing early in August at the Congaree store 130 miles from Charleston. They first called a meeting of the German population of the surrounding area, but, when no one attended, Drayton ordered the two militia companies of the area to assemble. To ensure that his order was obeyed, Drayton threatened officers refusing to assemble their companies with loss of their commissions. This tactic proved successful for Drayton soon had an audience to address. He reported that his speech so moved the men that all but fifteen signed the Association. The fifteen holdouts assured him after the meeting that they too would sign within a few days. The commissioners had as yet met no real opposition.

On August 8, the commissioners crossed the Congaree River and spoke to people who were assembled for an election. Again Drayton reported his own oratory as well as Tennent's had won the settlers and even converted several who had come to disrupt their efforts. According to Drayton, all those present signed the Association and formed themselves into volunteer militia companies. But on August 11, Drayton met with a set back while addressing a German congregation about ten miles up the Saluda River from the Congaree store. To his surprise his oratory had no effect; not one person would subscribe to the Association! The result

his neighbors; and Reverend Hart had been pastor of the Baptist church in Charleston for over twenty-five years. Minutes of the Council of Safety, July 26, 1775, *ibid.*, p. 65. Dabney and Dargan, *Drayton and the Revolution*, p. 93.

[24] The Council further ordered that each reorganized militia regiment was to be divided into three divisions; one third to be held ready to march on twelve hours notice, another third when called upon, and the other to remain for the protection of their respective districts. Minutes of the Council of Safety, July 22 and 23, 1775, *Collections of SCHS*, II, 54, 59.

was the same at another meeting of Germans the following day. Drayton attributed his lack of success to the efforts of a few active loyalists who were community leaders in the area—particularly one Evan McLaurin, a local storekeeper. He then recommended to the General Committee that all trade be stopped between associators and nonassociatiors in the province. Economic sanctions were thus applied to the recalcitrant.[25]

The commissioners then separated. Tennent and Richardson traveled northward into the valley of the Broad River while Drayton, Kershaw, and Hart proceeded westward along the Saluda. They were all to meet later at Fair Forest, the residence of Colonel Thomas Fletchall. At King's Creek on the Enoree River, Drayton spoke to a large audience with apparent success until Thomas Brown and Robert Cunningham arrived. Brown countered Drayton's efforts by reading "An Address of the People of Great Britain to the Inhabitants of America," which had been sent to Fletchall by Governor Campbell for just such an occasion. The Address argued that the Americans could not successfully resist British arms, that the suspension of trade would hurt the colonies, and that the issues between the colonies and the mother country could easily be settled. Perhaps the one statement most damaging to the patriot cause in the backcountry was: "It is hard that the charge of our intending to enslave you should come oftenest from the mouths of those lawyers who in your southern provinces at least, have long made you slaves to themselves."[26] Drayton did not report that any of the audience signed the patriot Association. Moreover, when the people of the area assembled to elect representatives to the Provincial Congress the arrival of a letter from Brown, Cunningham, and Kirkland completely quashed the election.[27]

The loyalist leaders persisted in plaguing the whig emissaries as they continued through the backcountry and prevented their winning converts except in a few districts where the local militia officers supported the revolutionary cause. When Drayton and his fellow commissioners met at Fletchall's on August 17 they found Brown, Cunningham, and Robinson already there. The commissioners tried with every possible argument to win the loyalist leaders, especially Fletchall, to the patriot cause but to no avail. Brown, the spokesman for the group, was very

[25] Drayton and Tennent to the Council of Safety, August 7, 9, and 16, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, pp. 128, 134, 140. Resolutions in the General Committee, August 14, 1775, *South Carolina General and American Gazette*, August 25, 1775.

[26] *American Archives, Fourth Series*, ed. Peter Force, Washington, 1837, I, 1413-1414.

[27] Drayton to the Council of Safety, August 16, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, p. 140.

abusive and insulted Drayton to the point where the latter almost lost his self-control. A duel between the two men was only averted by the intervention of Fletchall. Drayton felt he could have won Fletchall over if it had not been for the others. "These men," Drayton complained "manage Fletchall as they please when they have him to themselves." Fletchall was the key man in the backcountry. If the commissioners had been able to win his support, the loyalist party would have been seriously damaged if not completely broken. The commissioners were only able to extract Fletchall's admission that he had received a letter from the governor and his agreement to muster his regiment for them to address.[28] Unable to convert Fletchall, the commissioners, as a precaution, directed Capt. Ezekiel Polk to raise an additional troop of provincial rangers in the New District "to lie on the back of these people." And at Lawson's Fork in the upper part of Fletchall's district Drayton organized some companies of volunteer militia. In order to remove them from Fletchall's command he formed them into an entirely new regiment.[29]

Only 250 out of 1,000 men responded to Fletchall's call for a general regimental muster on August 23, 1775. Not one man of Captain Robert Cunningham's company was present. Drayton debated with Brown and Kirkland before the assembled troops, but only 70 signed the Association and most of these had already signed before.[30] His lack of success with Fletchall's people convinced Drayton that the loyalist opposition of the backcountry could now only be broken by seizing its leaders.

The loyalist leadership in the backcountry was not united and completely of one mind. Fletchall was the leader of the loyalist party because of his local prominence as a civil and military officer, but his leadership was more nominal than real. While he was undoubtedly competent in private affairs, Fletchall was not a strong leader when action became necessary. The initiative in positive action by the loyalists was generally provided by Cunningham, Kirkland, Robinson, and, after his flight from Augusta, Brown. These men, as Drayton and Tennent testified, had great influence over Fletchall, but they were never able to make him the vigorous leader they would have liked. In fact, it appeared to Brown that Fletchall was more interested in retaining his good standing with the revolutionary leaders of Charleston than in providing positive

[28] Drayton to the Council of Safety, August 21, 1775; Tennent to Henry Laurens, August 20, 1775, *ibid.*, pp. 145, 149.

[29] Drayton to the Council of Safety, August 21, 1775, *ibid.*, p. 145.

[30] Drayton and Tennent to the Council of Safety, August 24, 1775, *ibid.*, p. 15

leadership for the loyalist party. In bitter exasperation Brown went so far as to state that Fletchall's "interested views and treachery even at the time he corresponded with Campbell were well known" to the loyalists. From his own actions and the observations of his contemporaries it would appear that Fletchall unrealistically hoped that the backcountry could remain neutral, at least until British troops arrived.[31]

Brown, Cunningham, Kirkland, and Robinson were all working diligently to organize an attack on Fort Charlotte in compliance with Governor Campbell's instructions. The fort was of real importance to them for it could provide the powder and lead they badly needed. Fletchall, however, declared that he would not provide them either direct or indirect assistance in the project. Drayton learned of their scheme on August 30 and ordered the patriot militia and rangers of the backcountry to be prepared to oppose Kirkland and to check Fletchall's people if they showed any intention of assisting him in an attack on the fort. The same day he also issued a proclamation in the Ninety-Six district declaring that any persons who "shall assemble in arms in company or by the instigation of . . . Moses Kirkland will be deemed public enemies to be suppressed by the sword."[32] As the ammunition at Fort Charlotte was put beyond the reach of the loyalists by the militia force which Drayton raised, the loyalist leaders now concluded that outside help would be necessary to maintain loyalism in the backcountry.

The particular pressure placed on Kirkland made him the logical one to reach the governor on "the errand."[33] Upon his arrival on board H.M.S.

[31] Fletchall's lack of vigorous leadership is partially explainable in terms of his age and physical condition. He was described as being "very corpulent," weighing "upwards of 280 weight," and at the time was very likely over fifty-five years of age. Deposition of Ralph Mountague . . . in favor of Thomas Fletchall, July 16, 1787, BPRO, AO 13/128: 247. Brown to Campbell, October 18, 1775, Clinton Papers, The William L. Clements Library, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[32] Drayton to the Council of Safety, September 11, 1775; Proclamation of Drayton to Ninety-Six District, August 30, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, pp. 164, 171.

[33] Kirkland was singled out for particular attention by Drayton for several reasons. He was probably raising men in the Forks of the Saluda and Broad rivers, his home area, and was thus a nearer threat to Drayton at Augusta than any of the others. Also as a former officer in the whig armed forces, Kirkland was probably the most effective deterrent to efforts to recruit rangers and reorganize the militia in the area. Finally, he could be charged with treason as he had betrayed his commission from the Provincial Congress. Brown claimed that Drayton used Kirkland as an excuse to raise a force and seize other loyalist leaders. At any rate Kirkland was the reason Drayton cited in raising a body of milita in the back-

Tamar in Charleston harbor Kirkland requested that "arms, ammunition and a few experienced officers" might somehow be supplied to the loyalists in the interior. With such aid he assured the governor he could engage there "four thousand men for the service of Government whenever a Force appears on the Coast." In fact, Kirkland outlined a plan whereby the loyalists of the backcountry, if armed and working in conjunction with an invasion on the coast, could easily effect the reduction of the southern provinces. Kirkland requested that he be sent to Boston in order to lay his plan before General Thomas Gage. Since such a plan corresponded exactly with the governor's own desires, he dispatched Kirkland to Boston. Unfortunately for the loyalists, Kirkland together with several letters of recommendation was captured when his ship was taken shortly before reaching its destination.

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Since the loyalist leaders did not all support the aggressive measures advocated by Brown and Cunningham, Drayton worked to detach those who primarily desired neutrality. "We abhor the idea of compelling any person to associate with us; we only with sorrow declare that any person who will not associate with, and aid and comfort us, in this arduous struggle for our liberties, cannot by us be considered as friendly to us," Drayton proclaimed. At the same time he threatened those who took up arms against the Provincial Congress.[35]

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[34] Drayton to the Council of Safety, September 11, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, p. 177.

[35] Drayton to the Council of Safety, September 17, 1775; Declaration by Drayton, September 13, 1775, *ibid.*, pp. 180, 187. Brown to Campbell, October 18, 1775, Cinton Papers, WLCL.

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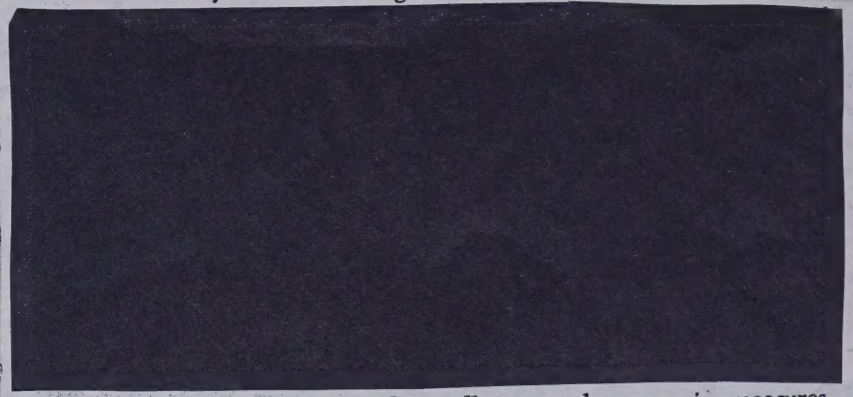

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[36] Drayton to the Council of Safety, September 17, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, p. 187.

[37] Brown to Campbell, October 18, 1775, Clinton Papers, WLCL.

[38] This treaty of September 16, 1775, is printed in full in Drayton, *Memoir of the Revolution*, I, 400-403, and in Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, pp. 184-186.

[39] During the negotiations Cunningham and Brown had moved 550 men across the Saluda River and taken a position within four miles of Drayton's camp. Thus it would appear, at least from Brown's account, that strategically as well as numerically Drayton's camp was at the mercy of the loyalist force. Brown to Campbell, October 18, 1775, Clinton Papers, WLCL.

[redacted] by removing its leadership regardless of the provisions of any treaty. A portion of the loyalist force repudiated the treaty upon hearing its terms and offered to follow Brown and Cunningham in continuing active opposition. The two men disbanded their following, however, either because, as Drayton alleged, they felt that the remaining men were too few, or, as Brown explained, from fear of North Carolina troops coming to the aid of the whigs. They may have been simply indicisive.[40] Brown immediately tried to reach the governor "to receive such instructions as might appear necessary for our conduct." Upon entering Charleston, however, he was apprehended by the Council of Safety and questioned. He refused to answer and, according to his own account, was released only after he threatened "fatal consequences in the backcountry" if he were held or harmed.[41]

[redacted]

[40] Drayton reported that only about sixty men remained with Brown and Cunningham when those who accepted the treaty dispersed. Brown and Cunningham were placed under surveillance; if they violated the treaty, they were to be apprehended and prosecuted. Drayton to the Council of Safety, September 17, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, p. 187. Brown to Campbell, October 18, 1775, Clinton Papers, WLCL.

[41] Brown submitted a report to the governor of the recent events in the backcountry in a fifteen page letter written from Charleston. Governor Campbell had been forced to take refuge aboard a British warship in Charleston harbor so Brown was unable to confer with him in person. But he did receive written instructions from Governor Campbell before he left Charleston. *Ibid.* Brown's Supplemental Memorial of April 21, 1788, BPRO, AO 13/34: 101.

[42] In 1768 Richard Pearis settled on the head waters of the Enoree River, beyond the Indian line in South Carolina. From 1769 to 1775 he was involved in a fraudulent scheme whereby he eventually secured 150,000 acres of Cherokee land in his son's name. He succeeded in this despite the determined opposition of John Stuart. As an influential person on the frontier, his support was earnestly

[redacted]

sought by the patriots. Initially he did side with them, partially because of his enmity toward Stuart and other royal officials, but mainly because he hoped to be rewarded with the appointment as Indian agent for the province of South Carolina. On October 2, 1775, just after Drayton's meeting with the Cherokee chiefs, the South Carolina Council of Safety granted the position sought by Pearis to George Galphin. Disappointed and in need of money Pearis changed sides and joined the loyalists. John Bennett, "Historical Notes," this *Magazine*, XVIII (1917), 97. "Papers of the First Council of Safety of the Revoluntionary Party," *ibid.*, II (1901), 99. John R. Alden, *The South in the Revolution 1763-1789*, Baton Rouge, 1957, p. 299.

[43] Drayton to Robert Cunningham, September 21, 1775, and Robert Cunningham to Drayton, October 5, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, pp. 191, 200.

[44] Proceedings of the South Carolina Provincial Congress, November 1, 1775, *American Archives, Fourth Series*, ed. Peter Force, Washington, 1843, IV, 28-29. Extract of a letter from Savannah, November 19, 1775, *ibid.*, III, 1606.

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[45] Williamson to Edward Wilkinson, November 6, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, p. 209.

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of the treaty itself was that it was made with subordinate patriot officers and its terms were not observed by their superiors. Richardson and Thompson, both of higher rank than Williamson, had begun an invasion of the loyalist region even before the conflict at Ninety-Six and refused to be bound by the treaty. In fact Richardson was sure that his task of capturing loyalist leaders would now be easier as he expected them to "couch under their cessation." [49]

The downfall of the loyalists came quickly. The accomplishments of Drayton and Tennent in August now became apparent. Over 500 men under Thomas, Neel, and Lyles (the lieutenant colonel of Fletchall's own regiment) joined Richardson's force of 1,500 men in the fork between the Broad and Saluda rivers. One thousand men were sent from North Carolina and after the twenty-day truce expired Williamson again took the field. Richardson's force eventually numbered between 4,000 and 5,000 men and more could have been obtained. The loyalists offered little resistance. Discouraged and confused, some voluntarily surrendered. Others were captured in hiding or in small groups. In this "snow campaign," as it came to be called, Richardson succeeded in capturing nearly all of the loyalist leaders. One hundred and thirty-six, including Fletchall and ten militia captains, were sent to Charleston.[50]

As a conciliatory measure most of the prisoners were released except Fletchall, the two Cunninghams, Richard Pearis, and ten others who were held until after the unsuccessful British invasion at Charleston in June 1776.[51] Morever, persons who surrendered voluntarily were, according to Richardson, dismissed "with soft words."[52] This policy of conciliation together with continued firm control in the backcountry prevented the terrorizing and plundering which could have followed. A feeling of bitterness toward the loyalists remained on the part of some of the patriots, and the more zealous loyalists refused to become reconciled to the new government. To a large degree the party divisions that formed in the summer and fall of 1775 became permanent.

Brown's name is not mentioned in connection with any of the events of November and December in the backcountry. Yet it is unlikely

[49] Richardson to Drayton, November 30, 1775, *ibid.*, p. 223.

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[52] Richardson to Henry Laurens, December 12, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, p. 240.

that he went directly from Charleston to St. Augustine as some writers have evidently assumed.[53] When Brown's passage through Dorchester on his return to the backcountry was reported to the Provincial Congress on November 9, that body assumed that he had gone "probably to increase the commotion raised in the backcountry by Patrick Cunningham." The Congress immediately issued a warrant for his arrest and directed Colonel Thomson "to use the most effectual means for apprehending and bringing to Charlestown the body of Thomas Brown." He was charged with having violated the treaty of Ninety-Six. As the Provincial Congress authorized Thomson to "impress horses from any person or persons," it can be assumed that a hot pursuit was begun to prevent Brown's junction with Patrick Cunningham's force.[54] This pursuit undoubtedly kept Brown from lingering in the backcountry, and with Richardson's force sweeping the whole region for loyalist leaders there was no place of safety in South Carolina.[55] Brown was in Savannah, Georgia, on December 26, 1775, so it is probable that he escaped the dragnet by crossing the Savannah River into Georgia. He apparently reached St. Augustine in early January of 1776.[56]

By the end of 1775 the initial struggle for control of the South Carolina backcountry was over. The loyalists had been defeated as much by their own isolated position and lack of united leadership as by the Machiavellian techniques of the opposition. Brown had been but one of several prominent loyalist leaders in this initial phase of the struggle. Now he was preeminent. Fletchall, the Cunninghams, Pearis, and other loyalist leaders were jailed at Charleston; Moses Kirkland was imprisoned at Philadelphia. Brown was the only major loyalist leader still at large who could provide leadership to the loyalists residing in the Georgia and South Carolina backcountry. He was more than eager to renew the struggle.

[53] See Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists*, I, 260-265, and Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, II, 323-324.

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[55] Fletchall, Pearis, and several other loyalist leaders had been captured by December 12th. Richardson to Henry Laurens, December 12, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, p. 239.

[56] Extract of a letter from Savannah, Georgia, to Mr. Morrison of Birtley White House near Newcastle, December 26, 1775, *Letters of the American Revolution, 1774-1776*, ed. Margaret W. Willard, Boston, 1925, pp. 245, 246.

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To play further on the fears of the loyalists, Drayton arranged to have a letter addressed to Colonel Richardson intercepted by his opponents. This fabricated letter directed Richardson to raise a force and to be prepared to attack the loyalist party from the rear. Also Colonel Thomas purportedly had been ordered to burn the houses of all non-associators who were absent from their homes. With this groundwork laid Drayton invited the loyalist leaders to come to his camp for negotiations.[36]

Brown and Cunningham refused to attend but allowed Fletchall "with some officers of inconsiderable consequences" and "as ignorant and illiterate as himself" to act as messengers. Brown demanded guarantees that the backcountry remain unmolested as a sanctury for loyalists as the only condition acceptable in a settlement with the whigs.[37]

On September 16, 1775, the treaty of Ninety-Six was signed between Drayton and the loyalist delegation led by Fletchall. The loyalists declared that their refusal to sign the Association reflected only a desire to live in peace, and they promised not to join or aid any British troops that might be sent to the provinces. They further agreed to allow any person who censured or opposed the proceedings of the Provincial Congress to be punished. In return the loyalists were promised that persons observing these provisions would be protected and allowed to remain at home. This protection was specifically withheld from those who refused to accept the agreement.[38]

To Brown, Cunningham, and many of their followers this treaty was a disgraceful surrender. Brown believed that Fletchall had been hoodwinked by Drayton's deployment of his troops into thinking that Drayton had the loyalist force at his mercy. He accused Fletchall of being drunk at the negotiations and of allowing Drayton to draw up the treaty without consulting anyone.[39] The treaty, however, was far more rational than Brown thought. First, it allowed both Drayton and Fletchall to avoid a battle which neither was sure he could win, and second, the

[36] Drayton to the Council of Safety, September 17, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, p. 187.

[37] Brown to Campbell, October 18, 1775, Clinton Papers, WLCL.

[38] This treaty of September 16, 1775, is printed in full in Drayton, *Memoirs of the Revolution*, I, 400-403, and in Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, pp. 184-186.

[39] During the negotiations Cunningham and Brown had moved 550 men across the Saluda River and taken a position within four miles of Drayton's camp. Thus it would appear, at least from Brown's account, that strategically as well as numerically Drayton's camp was at the mercy of the loyalist force. Brown to Campbell, October 18, 1775, Clinton Papers, WLCL.

terms of the treaty reflected the neutralist sentiments of Fletchall and many of the back settlers. Indeed, Governor Campbell had advised avoiding a conflict and preserving peace in the backcountry until assistance arrived.

Brown and Cunningham, on the other hand, perhaps saw Drayton's intentions more clearly than did Fletchall. They rightly believed that he intended to destroy any effective opposition in the backcountry by removing its leadership regardless of the provisions of any treaty. A portion of the loyalist force repudiated the treaty upon hearing its terms and offered to follow Brown and Cunningham in continuing active opposition. The two men disbanded their following, however, either because, as Drayton alleged, they felt that the remaining men were too few, or, as Brown explained, from fear of North Carolina troops coming to the aid of the whigs. They may have been simply indecisive.[40] Brown immediately tried to reach the governor "to receive such instructions as might appear necessary for our conduct." Upon entering Charleston, however, he was apprehended by the Council of Safety and questioned. He refused to answer and, according to his own account, was released only after he threatened "fatal consequences in the backcountry" if he were held or harmed.[41]

While Brown was in Charleston, significant events occurred in the backcountry. The treaty of Ninety-Six virtually ended Drayton's mission, but before returning to Charleston he took two steps which were to have an important bearing on future events. One was to hold a conference with some Cherokee chiefs who were brought down to the Congarees by Richard Pearis for the occasion.[42] The other was to draw from Robert

[40] Drayton reported that only about sixty men remained with Brown and Cunningham when those who accepted the treaty dispersed. Brown and Cunningham were placed under surveillance; if they violated the treaty, they were to be apprehended and prosecuted. Drayton to the Council of Safety, September 17, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, p. 187. Brown to Campbell, October 18, 1775, Clinton Papers, WLCL.

[41] Brown submitted a report to the governor of the recent events in the backcountry in a fifteen page letter written from Charleston. Governor Campbell had been forced to take refuge aboard a British warship in Charleston harbor so Brown was unable to confer with him in person. But he did receive written instructions from Governor Campbell before he left Charleston. *Ibid.* Brown's Supplemental Memorial of April 21, 1788, BPRO, AO 13/34: 101.

[42] In 1768 Richard Pearis settled on the head waters of the Enoree River, beyond the Indian line in South Carolina. From 1769 to 1775 he was involved in a fraudulent scheme whereby he eventually secured 150,000 acres of Cherokee land in his son's name. He succeeded in this despite the determined opposition of John Stuart. As an influential person on the frontier, his support was earnestly

Cunningham an open refusal to be bound by the recently concluded treaty. The wily Drayton accomplished the latter by a skillfully written letter which Cunningham unwisely but frankly answered. Cunningham declared he was not bound by a treaty which he considered "false and disgraceful from beginning to end."[43] In the last part of October he was seized by a party disguised as Indian traders acting on orders of the Council of Safety. Tried in Charleston on a charge of sedition, Cunningham was imprisoned in the town jail.[44]

This occasioned a second loyalist uprising. Patrick Cunningham raised a body of men to rescue his brother from the whigs. While he failed to effect this, he did succeed on November 3 in capturing a wagon loaded with a thousand pounds of gun powder which the Council of Safety was sending as a gift to the Cherokee Indians. The ammunition was valuable to the tories not merely for rifles, but for propaganda as well. The loyalist leaders now turned the tables on the patriots by using the fear of an Indian attack to rally the people of the backcountry around themselves. Richard Pearis, a newly turned loyalist, did much to aid this development. Pearis made affidavit that the Council of Safety was planning to use the Cherokee Indians against the loyalists, and, though this affidavit was entirely false, the gift of powder convinced many that the charges were true.

On November 4 Maj. Andrew Williamson in the Long Cane militia district, on learning the powder had been taken, immediately raised part of his militia regiment and marched to join the patriot irregulars of Ninety-Six. This force eventually numbered about 550 men and their avowed objective was to "retake that ammunition and bring those people

sought by the patriots. Initially he did side with them, partially because of his enmity toward Stuart and other royal officials, but mainly because he hoped to be rewarded with the appointment as Indian agent for the province of South Carolina. On October 2, 1775, just after Drayton's meeting with the Cherokee chiefs, the South Carolina Council of Safety granted the position sought by Pearis to George Galphin. Disappointed and in need of money Pearis changed sides and joined the loyalists. John Bennett, "Historical Notes," this *Magazine*, XVIII (1917), 97. "Papers of the First Council of Safety of the Revoluntionary Party," *ibid.*, II (1901), 99. John R. Alden, *The South in the Revolution 1763-1789*, Baton Rouge, 1957, p. 299.

[43] Drayton to Robert Cunningham, September 21, 1775, and Robert Cunningham to Drayton, October 5, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, pp. 191, 200.

[44] Proceedings of the South Carolina Provincial Congress, November 1, 1775, *American Archives, Fourth Series*, ed. Peter Force, Washington, 1843, IV, 28-29. Extract of a letter from Savannah, November 19, 1775, *ibid.*, III, 1606.

to justice."[45] This was in reality a pretext, however, for even before Patrick Cunningham had raised his men and seized the powder in Ninety-Six district, Colonel Richardson with a force of patriot militia was taking local loyalists into custody in the fork between the Saluda and Broad rivers. This was a direct violation of the treaty of Ninety-Six.[46]

The force led by Williamson in pursuit of Patrick Cunningham and his group constituted the more immediate threat to the loyalists. Fletchall, conceding that the treaty had been broken by the whigs, but physically unable himself to lead, directed Maj. Joseph Robinson to raise the loyalist forces in opposition. Aided by the Indian scare created by the Pearis statement the loyalists quickly assembled about 2,000 men.[47] Commanded by Robinson with the assistance of Patrick Cunningham, Evan McLaurin, and Richard Pearis, this force on November 19 besieged Williamson and the whig militia at Ninety-Six. Three days later the belligerents agreed to terms: prisoners should be released, the fort destroyed, and the loyalists should retire to the other side of the Saluda River. During the twenty-day truce period the loyalists might submit their case to Governor Campbell, and the patriots theirs to the Council of Safety.[48]

This was the closest thing to a victory that the loyalists ever won in South Carolina. The only benefit they received, however, was that Williamson's men could not take the field for twenty days. The fact that the loyalist leaders were willing to withdraw on such terms indicated that their position was precarious. There were difficulties about securing supplies of food and ammunition, Robinson was not recognized by all as commander, and a part of their force consisted of men who had joined only because of the rumored Indian attack. A serious weakness

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South Carolina committee that he had "never received any orders from my superiors which by the most tortured construction could be interpreted to spirit up, employ the Indians to fall upon the frontier inhabitants; to take part in the dispute between Great Britain and her colonies."[2]

On orders from the Council of Safety, Andrew Williamson of Long Cane visited Cameron in the Cherokee nation to verify the rumor of a British instigated Indian attack. Williamson was eager to undertake this mission, for as he reported, "there was a good deal of confusion in this part of the district on account of the expected danger from the Cherokees." Cameron, however, assured Williamson that he never understood Stuart's letter as an order to induce the Cherokee Indians to fall upon the province of South Carolina, "but only to endeavor to keep the said Indians firmly attached to His Majesty's Government." Cameron acknowledged extracts of Stuart's letter to him and his own reply which Williamson showed him, but said that from the whole of Stuart's letter to him he did not construe the meaning in the same manner as the Provincial Congress had done. In other words, the whigs had taken out of context and published only those parts of the letters which would convey the meaning best suited to their purpose. Williamson believed that Cameron was sincere. Edward Wilkinson, South Carolina commissioner to the Cherokees, also reported that the Indians were "well disposed to the inhabitants of our province."[3]

It is clear that the accusations made against Stuart and Cameron were up to this point completely unjustified. In talks sent to both the Creek and Cherokee nations in August 1775 Stuart stressed that the dispute between the people of England and the white people of America was "a matter that does not concern you; they will decide it between themselves." But he did expect the Indians to remain "faithfully attached to the King's interest," and "not to listen to any talks against him, or his officers, or governors."[4]

Unlike Stuart, however, the whig party of South Carolina sought a more active expression of Indian friendship. Early in July 1775 they secured the allegiance of the small tribe of Catawba Indians. All the fighting men of that tribe, about sixty warriors, were attached to Colonel

[2] Stuart to the Committee of Intelligence of Charleston, July 18, 1775, *American Archives, Fourth Series*, ed. Peter Force, II, 1681.

[3] Williamson to the Council of Safety, July 14, 1775; Wilkinson to the Council of Safety, July 12, 1775, *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society*, Charleston, 1858, II, 55.

[4] Stuart's talks to the Creeks and Cherokees, August 15 and 30, 1775, R. W. Gibbes, *Documentary History of the American Revolution . . . Chiefly in South Carolina, 1764-1776*, New York, 1852, pp. 159-162.

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Thomson's rangers and assisted in crushing the loyalist party in the backcountry.[5] When it became apparent that an Indian attack was not imminent, the whigs actively attempted to win the allegiance of the Cherokees away from the British. Drayton met with certain Cherokee chiefs, whom Richard Pearis brought down to the Congarees in late September 1775, to explain to them the dispute "between a part of the people of Great Britain and . . . the white people living in America." He attempted to convince the Indians that their interests were also at stake and that they and the Americans should "assist each other against our common enemies."[6]

Drayton's talk to the Cherokee chiefs had little effect. They remained firmly attached to the British, partially through the efforts of Stuart and Cameron, but principally because of their grievances against white settlers who were encroaching on their land. The whigs, realizing that Cameron's influnce was an obstacle to their winning the Cherokees away from the British, tried to buy his support.[7] When Cameron refused to employ his influence with the Indians for their cause, the whigs sought to prevent him from using it to support the British. Drayton threatened Cameron and ordered him to get out of the Cherokee nation for, as he put it, "we look upon you as an object dangerous to our welfare." Cameron regretted that his presence among the Cherokees caused the whigs uneasiness, but as long as he held his present office he could not leave without orders from his superiors. He assured Drayton, however, that he had received no instructions injurious to the frontier inhabitants. In fact, Cameron informed Drayton, at the very time he was being threatened with punishment "from all quarters" of South Carolina, he was attempting a peaceful mediation between the Indians and frontiersmen settled on the Watauga and Nolachucky rivers.[8]

Thus Stuart and Cameron were pursuing what might be termed a defensive Indian policy. They sought to retain the Indians' friendship and

[5] Henry Laurens to Joseph Kershaw, July 25, 1775, *Collection of SCHS*, II, 63. Gov. William Campbell to the Earl of Dartmouth (secretary of state for the Southern Department), September 19, 1775, Records in the British Public Record Office Relating to South Carolina, on microfilm in South Carolina Historical Society.

[6] Talk from Drayton to Men, Headmen, and Warriors of the Cherokee Nation, September 25, 1775, *American Archives, Fourth Series*, ed. Peter Force, Washington, 1840, III, 790.

[7] Stuart to Dartmouth, January 8, 1776, *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, ed. William L. Saunders, Raleigh, 1890, X, 392.

[8] Drayton to Cameron, September 25, 1775, Sir Henry Clinton Papers, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Cameron to Drayton, October 16, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, p. 207.

allegiance but not to involve them in the revolutionary conflict. In August 1775 Governor Campbell suggested that Col. Thomas Fletchall seek assistance from Cameron and the Cherokee Indians in holding the backcountry for royal government. If Cameron was approached by the loyalists, he obviously refused any request for aid. He had no authorization to do otherwise. In the meantime Stuart's superiors had decided upon a more positive Indian policy. On October 2 Stuart received orders from General Gage to urge the Indians to take up arms against the rebels since the Americans were using Indians against him around Boston.[9] Stuart replied that he felt an indiscriminate attack on frontier settlements would do much harm considering that the great majority of the frontiersmen were inclined to support the royal government. He would, however, "dispose them to join in executing any concerted plan, and to act with and assist their well disposed neighbors."[10] Stuart then proceeded to prepare for offensive operations by the Indians by sending supplies of guns, ammunition, and Indian goods to Pensacola. He appointed his brother Henry his confidential agent to visit the various Indian tribes. Henry was to communicate Gage's order to the Indian agents in each nation so they would prepare the Indians to act when called upon. Stuart warned his brother, however, that "an indiscriminate attack upon the Provinces is not Meant, but to act in the execution of any concerted plan and to assist His Majesty's Troops and Friends in distressing the Rebells and bringing them to a sense of their Duty."[11] Not until mid-December did Stuart write Cameron and David Taitt, his deputy in the Creek nation, directing them to induce the Indians to join with the loyalists of Carolina and Georgia "who had already taken up arms against the rebels or who might do so in the future." Since Henry Stuart did not reach the Cherokee nation until late in April 1776, Cameron did not receive orders to cooperate with the loyalists in South Carolina until after they had been defeated and their leaders captured.[12]

Certainly John Stuart had not been overly active. At St. Augustine it was believed that Stuart's apprehension over his wife being held hostage at Charleston made him reluctant to employ the Indians.[13] His slow response to Gage's order would seem to verify this explanation.

[9] Gage to Stuart, September 12, 1775, Clinton Papers, WLCL.

[10] Stuart to Gage, October 3, 1775, *American Archives, Fourth Series*, ed. Peter Force, Washington, 1843, IV, 317.

[11] Stuart to Henry Stuart, October 24, 1775, BPRO, CO, 5/77: 123.

[12] John Stuart to Taitt, December 15, 1775, and Stuart to Cameron, December 16, 1775, BPRO, CO, 5/77: 29, 55.

[13] Frederick Mulcaster to General Grant, October 3, 1775, *American Archives, Fourth Series*, ed. Peter Force, IV, 329-334.

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To play further on the fears of the loyalists, Drayton arranged to have a letter addressed to Colonel Richardson intercepted by his opponents. This fabricated letter directed Richardson to raise a force and to be prepared to attack the loyalist party from the rear. Also Colonel Thomas purportedly had been ordered to burn the houses of all non-associators who were absent from their homes. With this groundwork laid Drayton invited the loyalist leaders to come to his camp for negotiations.[36]

Brown and Cunningham refused to attend but allowed Fletchall "with some officers of inconsiderable consequences" and "as ignorant and illiterate as himself" to act as messengers. Brown demanded guarantees that the backcountry remain unmolested as a sanctuary for loyalists as the only condition acceptable in a settlement with the whigs.[37]

On September 16, 1775, the treaty of Ninety-Six was signed between Drayton and the loyalist delegation led by Fletchall. The loyalists declared that their refusal to sign the Association reflected only a desire to live in peace, and they promised not to join or aid any British troops that might be sent to the provinces. They further agreed to allow any person who censured or opposed the proceedings of the Provincial Congress to be punished. In return the loyalists were promised that persons observing these provisions would be protected and allowed to remain at home. This protection was specifically withheld from those who refused to accept the agreement.[38]

To Brown, Cunningham, and many of their followers this treaty was a disgraceful surrender. Brown believed that Fletchall had been hoodwinked by Drayton's deployment of his troops into thinking that Drayton had the loyalist force at his mercy. He accused Fletchall of being drunk at the negotiations and of allowing Drayton to draw up the treaty without consulting anyone.[39] The treaty, however, was far more rational than Brown thought. First, it allowed both Drayton and Fletchall to avoid a battle which neither was sure he could win, and second, the

[36] Drayton to the Council of Safety, September 17, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, p. 187.

[37] Brown to Campbell, October 18, 1775, Clinton Papers, WLCL.

[38] This treaty of September 16, 1775, is printed in full in Drayton, *Memoirs of the Revolution*, I, 400-403, and in Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, pp. 184-186.

[39] During the negotiations Cunningham and Brown had moved 550 men across the Saluda River and taken a position within four miles of Drayton's camp. Thus it would appear, at least from Brown's account, that strategically as well as numerically Drayton's camp was at the mercy of the loyalist force. Brown to Campbell, October 18, 1775, Clinton Papers, WLCL.

terms of the treaty reflected the neutralist sentiments of Fletchall and many of the back settlers. Indeed, Governor Campbell had advised avoiding a conflict and preserving peace in the backcountry until assistance arrived.

Brown and Cunningham, on the other hand, perhaps saw Drayton's intentions more clearly than did Fletchall. They rightly believed that he intended to destroy any effective opposition in the backcountry by removing its leadership regardless of the provisions of any treaty. A portion of the loyalist force repudiated the treaty upon hearing its terms and offered to follow Brown and Cunningham in continuing active opposition. The two men disbanded their following, however, either because, as Drayton alleged, they felt that the remaining men were too few, or, as Brown explained, from fear of North Carolina troops coming to the aid of the whigs. They may have been simply indecisive.[40] Brown immediately tried to reach the governor "to receive such instructions as might appear necessary for our conduct." Upon entering Charleston, however, he was apprehended by the Council of Safety and questioned. He refused to answer and, according to his own account, was released only after he threatened "fatal consequences in the backcountry" if he were held or harmed.[41]

While Brown was in Charleston, significant events occurred in the backcountry. The treaty of Ninety-Six virtually ended Drayton's mission, but before returning to Charleston he took two steps which were to have an important bearing on future events. One was to hold a conference with some Cherokee chiefs who were brought down to the Congarees by Richard Pearis for the occasion.[42] The other was to draw from Robert

[40] Drayton reported that only about sixty men remained with Brown and Cunningham when those who accepted the treaty dispersed. Brown and Cunningham were placed under surveillance; if they violated the treaty, they were to be apprehended and prosecuted. Drayton to the Council of Safety, September 17, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, p. 187. Brown to Campbell, October 18, 1775, Clinton Papers, WLCL.

[41] Brown submitted a report to the governor of the recent events in the backcountry in a fifteen page letter written from Charleston. Governor Campbell had been forced to take refuge aboard a British warship in Charleston harbor so Brown was unable to confer with him in person. But he did receive written instructions from Governor Campbell before he left Charleston. *Ibid*. Brown's Supplemental Memorial of April 21, 1788, BPRO, AO 13/34: 101.

[42] In 1768 Richard Pearis settled on the head waters of the Enoree River, beyond the Indian line in South Carolina. From 1769 to 1775 he was involved in a fraudulent scheme whereby he eventually secured 150,000 acres of Cherokee land in his son's name. He succeeded in this despite the determined opposition of John Stuart. As an influential person on the frontier, his support was earnestly

Cunningham an open refusal to be bound by the recently concluded treaty. The wily Drayton accomplished the latter by a skillfully written letter which Cunningham unwisely but frankly answered. Cunningham declared he was not bound by a treaty which he considered "false and disgraceful from beginning to end."[43] In the last part of October he was seized by a party disguised as Indian traders acting on orders of the Council of Safety. Tried in Charleston on a charge of sedition, Cunningham was imprisoned in the town jail.[44]

This occasioned a second loyalist uprising. Patrick Cunningham raised a body of men to rescue his brother from the whigs. While he failed to effect this, he did succeed on November 3 in capturing a wagon loaded with a thousand pounds of gun powder which the Council of Safety was sending as a gift to the Cherokee Indians. The ammunition was valuable to the tories not merely for rifles, but for propaganda as well. The loyalist leaders now turned the tables on the patriots by using the fear of an Indian attack to rally the people of the backcountry around themselves. Richard Pearis, a newly turned loyalist, did much to aid this development. Pearis made affidavit that the Council of Safety was planning to use the Cherokee Indians against the loyalists, and, though this affidavit was entirely false, the gift of powder convinced many that the charges were true.

On November 4 Maj. Andrew Williamson in the Long Cane militia district, on learning the powder had been taken, immediately raised part of his militia regiment and marched to join the patriot irregulars of Ninety-Six. This force eventually numbered about 550 men and their avowed objective was to "retake that ammunition and bring those people

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sought by the patriots. Initially he did side with them, partially because of his enmity toward Stuart and other royal officials, but mainly because he hoped to be rewarded with the appointment as Indian agent for the province of South Carolina. On October 2, 1775, just after Drayton's meeting with the Cherokee chiefs, the South Carolina Council of Safety granted the position sought by Pearis to George Galphin. Disappointed and in need of money Pearis changed sides and joined the loyalists. John Bennett, "Historical Notes," this *Magazine*, XVIII (1917), 97. "Papers of the First Council of Safety of the Revoluntionary Party," *ibid.*, II (1901), 99. John R. Alden, *The South in the Revolution 1763-1789*, Baton Rouge, 1957, p. 299.

[43] Drayton to Robert Cunningham, September 21, 1775, and Robert Cunningham to Drayton, October 5, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, pp. 191, 200.

[44] Proceedings of the South Carolina Provincial Congress, November 1, 1775, *American Archives, Fourth Series*, ed. Peter Force, Washington, 1843, IV, 28-29. Extract of a letter from Savannah, November 19, 1775, *ibid.*, III, 1606.

to justice."[45] This was in reality a pretext, however, for even before Patrick Cunningham had raised his men and seized the powder in Ninety-Six district, Colonel Richardson with a force of patriot militia was taking local loyalists into custody in the fork between the Saluda and Broad rivers. This was a direct violation of the treaty of Ninety-Six.[46]

The force led by Williamson in pursuit of Patrick Cunningham and his group constituted the more immediate threat to the loyalists. Fletchall, conceding that the treaty had been broken by the whigs, but physically unable himself to lead, directed Maj. Joseph Robinson to raise the loyalist forces in opposition. Aided by the Indian scare created by the Pearis statement the loyalists quickly assembled about 2,000 men.[47] Commanded by Robinson with the assistance of Patrick Cunningham, Evan McLaurin, and Richard Pearis, this force on November 19 besieged Williamson and the whig militia at Ninety-Six. Three days later the belligerents agreed to terms: prisoners should be released, the fort destroyed, and the loyalists should retire to the other side of the Saluda River. During the twenty-day truce period the loyalists might submit their case to Governor Campbell, and the patriots theirs to the Council of Safety.[48]

This was the closest thing to a victory that the loyalists ever won in South Carolina. The only benefit they received, however, was that Williamson's men could not take the field for twenty days. The fact that the loyalist leaders were willing to withdraw on such terms indicated that their position was precarious. There were difficulties about securing supplies of food and ammunition, Robinson was not recognized by all as commander, and a part of their force consisted of men who had joined only because of the rumored Indian attack. A serious weakness

[45] Williamson to Edward Wilkinson, November 6, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, p. 209.

[46] Richardson to the Council of Safety, November 2, 1775, *ibid.*

[47] "An extract of a letter from an officer at Ninety-Six," November 29, 1775, printed in the *South Carolina and American General Gazette*, November 24-December 3, 1775, and Major Andrew Williamson to Drayton, November 25, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, p. 216, both testify to the great effect of the Pearis affidavit. Drayton placed the loyalist force at 1,890 men. Drayton, *Memoirs of the Revolution*, II, 119. Robinson said his force numbered 2,000 which agrees with James Mayson's estimate. Ryerson, *Loyalists and Their Times*, II, 55. Mayson to Thomson, November 24, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, p. 215.

[48] An agrement for a cessation of arms between Major Joseph Robinson, commander of a body of His Majesty's militia . . . and Major Andrew Williamson and Major James Mayson, commanders of the fort at Ninety-Six, November 22, 1775, *ibid.*, p. 214.

of the treaty itself was that it was made with subordinate patriot officers and its terms were not observed by their superiors. Richardson and Thompson, both of higher rank than Williamson, had begun an invasion of the loyalist region even before the conflict at Ninety-Six and refused to be bound by the treaty. In fact Richardson was sure that his task of capturing loyalist leaders would now be easier as he expected them to "couch under their cessation." [49]

The downfall of the loyalists came quickly. The accomplishments of Drayton and Tennent in August now became apparent. Over 500 men under Thomas, Neel, and Lyles (the lieutenant colonel of Fletchall's own regiment) joined Richardson's force of 1,500 men in the fork between the Broad and Saluda rivers. One thousand men were sent from North Carolina and after the twenty-day truce expired Williamson again took the field. Richardson's force eventually numbered between 4,000 and 5,000 men and more could have been obtained. The loyalists offered little resistance. Discouraged and confused, some voluntarily surrendered. Others were captured in hiding or in small groups. In this "snow campaign," as it came to be called, Richardson succeeded in capturing nearly all of the loyalist leaders. One hundred and thirty-six, including Fletchall and ten militia captains, were sent to Charleston.[50]

Snow campaign

As a conciliatory measure most of the prisoners were released except Fletchall, the two Cunninghams, Richard Pearis, and ten others who were held until after the unsuccessful British invasion at Charleston in June 1776.[51] Morever, persons who surrendered voluntarily were, according to Richardson, dismissed "with soft words."[52] This policy of conciliation together with continued firm control in the backcountry prevented the terrorizing and plundering which could have followed. A feeling of bitterness toward the loyalists remained on the part of some of the patriots, and the more zealous loyalists refused to become reconciled to the new government. To a large degree the party divisions that formed in the summer and fall of 1775 became permanent.

Brown's name is not mentioned in connection with any of the events of November and December in the backcountry. Yet it is unlikely

[49] Richardson to Drayton, November 30, 1775, *ibid.*, p. 223.

[50] For a list of those captured and sent to Charleston at this time see Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, pp. 249-253. Patrick Cunningham and a few others are not included in this list for they were sent at a later time.

[51] Journal of the South Carolina General Assembly, April 11, 1776, *American Archives, Fourth Series*, ed. Peter Force, Washington, 1844, V, 650.

[52] Richardson to Henry Laurens, December 12, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, p. 240.

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that he went directly from Charleston to St. Augustine as some writers have evidently assumed.[53] When Brown's passage through Dorchester on his return to the backcountry was reported to the Provincial Congress on November 9, that body assumed that he had gone "probably to increase the commotion raised in the backcountry by Patrick Cunningham." The Congress immediately issued a warrant for his arrest and directed Colonel Thomson "to use the most effectual means for apprehending and bringing to Charlestown the body of Thomas Brown." He was charged with having violated the treaty of Ninety-Six. As the Provincial Congress authorized Thomson to "impress horses from any person or persons," it can be assumed that a hot pursuit was begun to prevent Brown's junction with Patrick Cunningham's force.[54] This pursuit undoubtedly kept Brown from lingering in the backcountry, and with Richardson's force sweeping the whole region for loyalist leaders there was no place of safety in South Carolina.[55] Brown was in Savannah, Georgia, on December 26, 1775, so it is probable that he escaped the dragnet by crossing the Savannah River into Georgia. He apparently reached St. Augustine in early January of 1776.[56]

By the end of 1775 the initial struggle for control of the South Carolina backcountry was over. The loyalists had been defeated as much by their own isolated position and lack of united leadership as by the Machiavellian techniques of the opposition. Brown had been but one of several prominent loyalist leaders in this initial phase of the struggle. Now he was preeminent. Fletchall, the Cunninghams, Pearis, and other loyalist leaders were jailed at Charleston; Moses Kirkland was imprisoned at Philadelphia. Brown was the only major loyalist leader still at large who could provide leadership to the loyalists residing in the Georgia and South Carolina backcountry. He was more than eager to renew the struggle.

late Nov/ Dec 1775

[53] See Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists*, I, 260-265, and Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, II, 323-324.

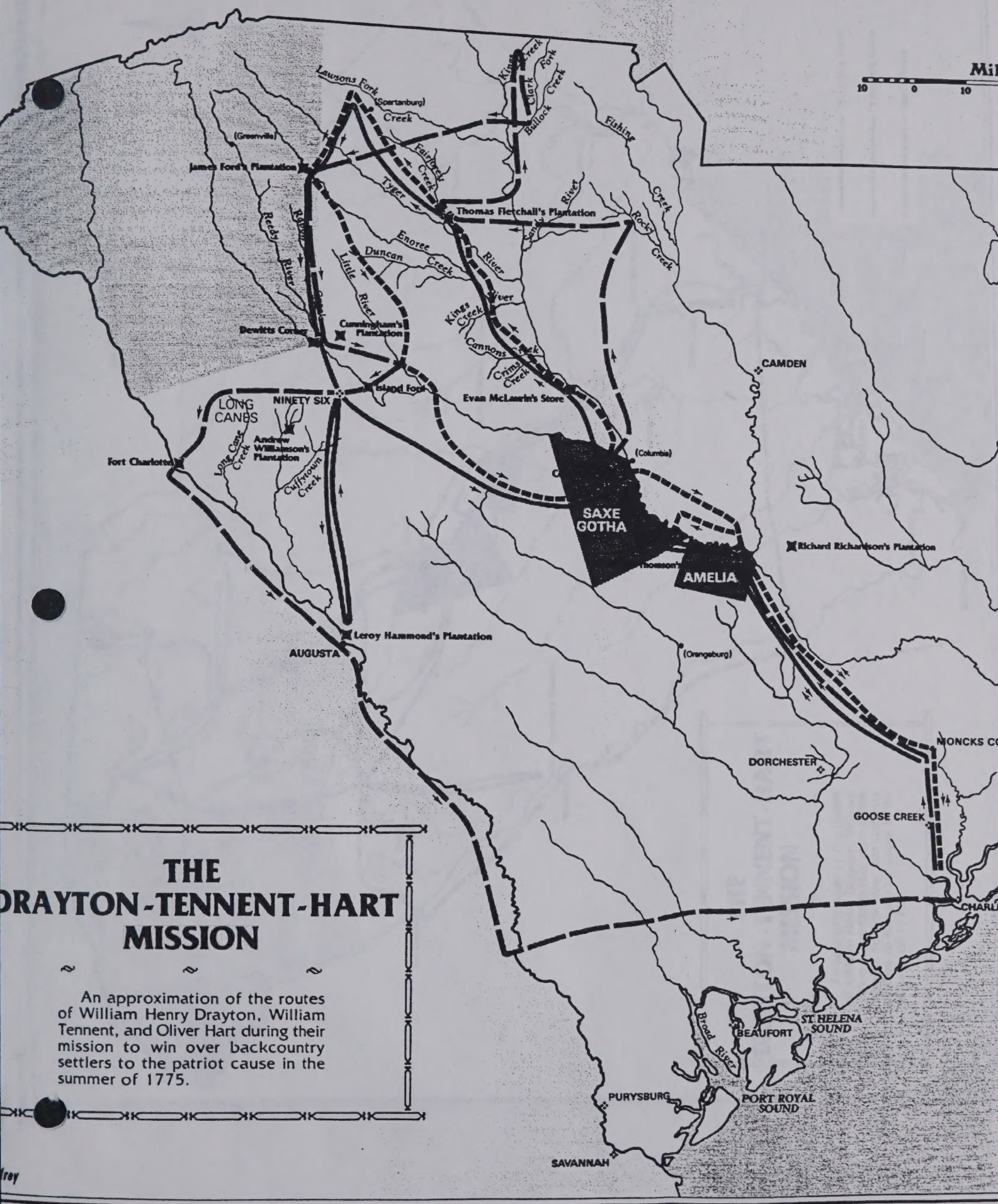
[54] Dorchester, no longer in existence, was located about twenty-six miles from Charleston on the north bank of the Ashley River. Proceedings of the Provincial Congress, November 9, 1775, *American Archives, Fourth Series*, ed. Peter Force, IV, 42.

[55] Fletchall, Pearis, and several other loyalist leaders had been captured by December 12th. Richardson to Henry Laurens, December 12, 1775, Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, p. 239.

by Dec 12

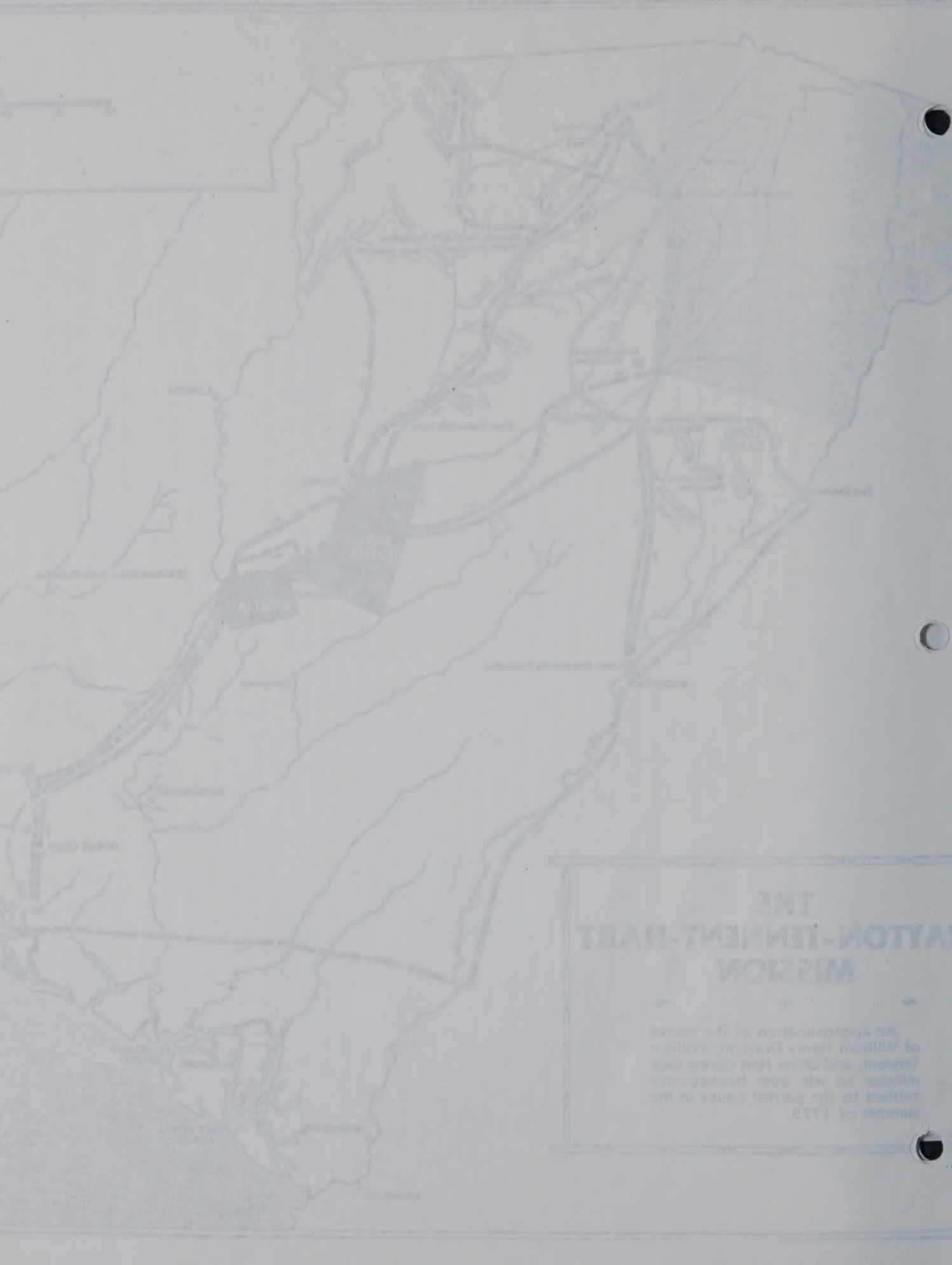
[56] Extract of a letter from Savannah, Georgia, to Mr. Morrison of Birtley White House near Newcastle, December 26, 1775, *Letters of the American Revolution, 1774-1776*, ed. Margaret W. Willard, Boston, 1925, pp. 245, 246.

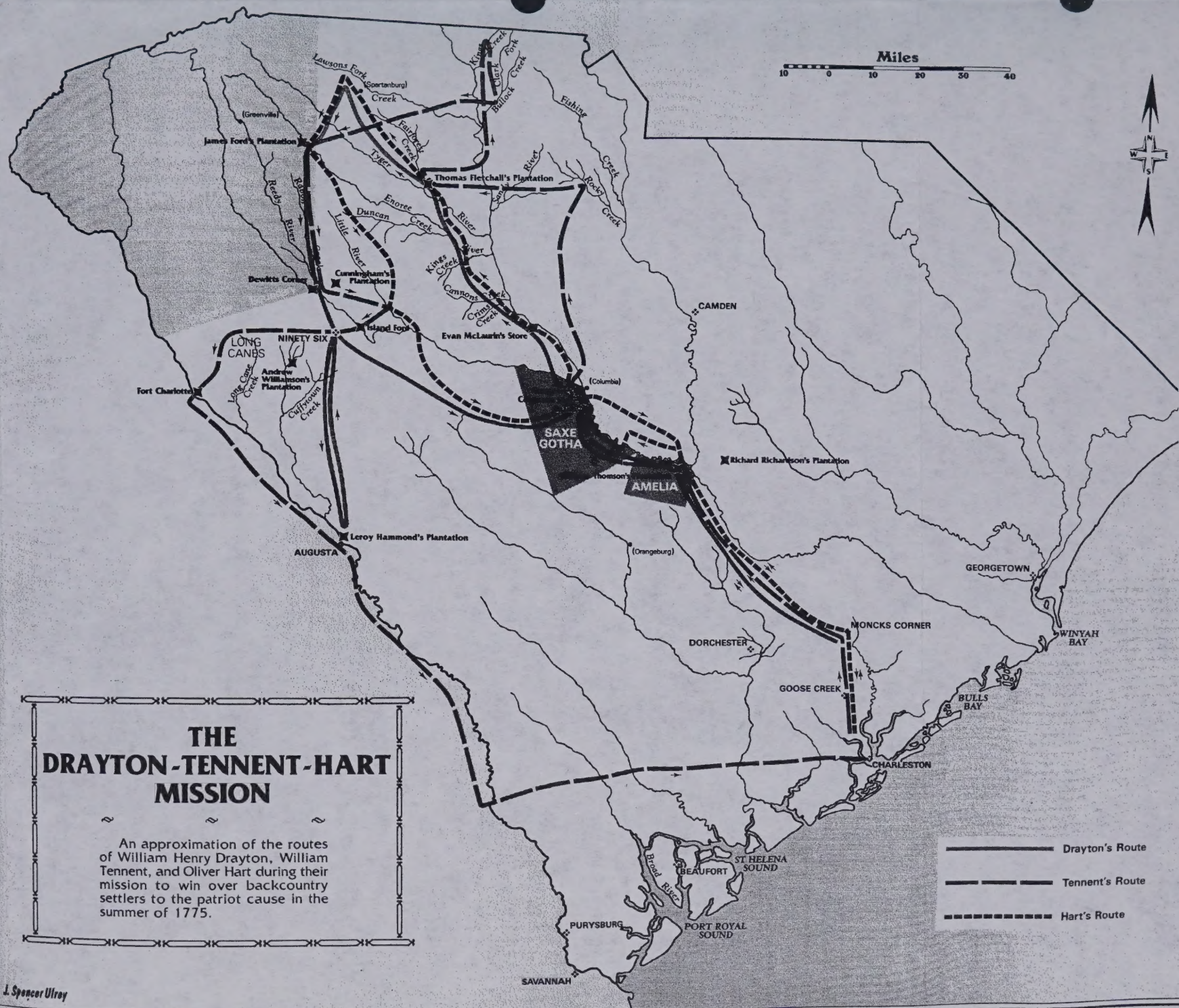
(To be Continued)



THE DRAYTON-TENNENT-HART MISSION

An approximation of the routes of William Henry Drayton, William Tennent, and Oliver Hart during their mission to win over backcountry settlers to the patriot cause in the summer of 1775.





THE DRAYTON-TENNENT-HART MISSION

An approximation of the routes of William Henry Drayton, William Tennent, and Oliver Hart during their mission to win over backcountry settlers to the patriot cause in the summer of 1775.

May 11 or 12 1993
Columbia, Mo.

Dear Norma,

How about that Richard Pearis ??!! Certainly a colorful character and if he is on our tree we certainly want to know it; even if he turned out to be only an uncle twice removed or something like that.

I like that part about him being an orator of rude, savage eloquence and power.

When we heard on TV and the papers that Milwaukee had a bug in the water I was foolish enough to think "Norma ~~is~~ and her family are too smart to catch that." I guess smart has nothing to do with it, does it? I guess you get terribly sick and I don't blame you for feeling betrayed. Glad you're better.

I was going to the doctor every week all fall and winter and I don't see that I accomplished much for it. Every thing he had me do caused a new trouble or reaction which in turn had to be treated which caused still another problem which had to be treated etc. etc.. Not only was I sicker & sicker I lost my whole winter & much of the spring.

We seem to be 'stuck' in the genealogy too. Gripe, Gripe. Love you, Billie, still your sister

NOTE: Reading see this Poles other bibles, the 67 years Too - [illegible] It seems like Col Richard Pearis was [illegible] Local Hero Mg WRR!

2 Aug 1754 Ltr from Geo Dasiddia to Richard Perry re. Cheap "Old Hogs"
(He must have been more than 19!)

16 Apr 1757 gifts to daus. Sarah + Margaret at marriages

Enclose this page as proof of source if ever needed.

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CAYMAN BRAC (Jamaica)
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QUITA SUENO BANK
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PEARL KEYS
ST. ANDREWS I. (Colombia)
COURTOWN BANK
GREAT CORN I.
ALBUQUERQUE KEYS
HONDURAS
Caratasca Lagoon
HALF MOON REEF
ALARGATE REEF
C. Gracias a Dios
Segovia R.
Pearl Key Lagoon
Bluefields
CENTRAL AMERICA
Matina Bay
Greytown
SAN JOSE
Matina
Cartago
Chiriqui Lagoon
Colón
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PEARL IS.
Gulf of Darien
Gulf of Panamá
PACIFIC OCEAN
COIBA I.
AZUERO PEN.
CEBACO I.
Pta. Burica
Pt. Gallinas
Riohacha
C.S. Juan de Guya
Barranquilla
Santa Marta
Cartagena
Calamar
Maracaibo
Federacion
Corozal
Lorica
El Encanto
Sta. Barbara
SOUTH AMERICA
Longitude West
84°
80°
76°
72°

Map 52

South Carolina Hist. Genea. mag V. 18

obtaining Administration on Baird's[4] Estate which he now Heirs, he purposes selling and carrying to Europe all he can get thereby, and to leave his wife only a bare Maintainance; (they are total enemies to each other) and Wilson has not a well wisher in this place but two—So that from these circumstances others as well as myself Suppose that by a Spirited Application either personal or by Letter from you immediately will so terrify him as will readily induce him to Comply with almost any request that may be made of him—The sooner this is done the Better—if it is possible you had better come down, if not write to him fully on the occasion the value of the Horse, and the mode of payment you would wish and send it to me and I would almost insure the success for a trifle.

Expecting to hear from you on this affair by the earliest opportunity I rest for the present.

There has been a Number of Deaths since you were here, in this place, say—Myers, Ballard, Cryer, Geo. Brown and Isaac Lesesne, the latter died a Deplorable Death—Drunk and by himself, with a pitcher of stout Grog at his back.

Having nothing farther to Communicate Betsey joins me in love to you all, and gives you the Compliments of the Approaching New Year.

I am Dear Sir
Your Most Obt. Hl. Serv.
Jacob Wm. Harvey.[5]

Richard Pearis or Pearce: commonly styled Paris, (whence Paris' Mountain, near Greenville, S. C.).[6] Born, Ireland, n.d.; settled, Frederic Co., Va., prior to 1750. Located, Long Island of Holston River, Indian trader, associated with Nathaniel, (afterwards General), Gist, 1754. A speaker of influence, an orator of

[4] Mrs. Winifred Willson was administratrix of Archibald Baird's estate in Jan. 1784.

[5] Jacob William Harvey was the son of Benjamin Harvey 1722–1756, of Stono.

[6] Sources: Historical Commission Report on American MSS in Royal Institution of Great Britain, Carleton or Dorchester Papers; Dinwiddie Papers, Virginia Historical Publications; Gibbes Documentary History; American Archives; Logan's MSS Notes History Upper South Carolina; Loyalist Commission Reports Transcript, N. Y.; Drayton's Memoirs; Fanning's Narrative.

This article has most info so far.

rude, savage eloquence and power, commended himself to Gov. Dinwiddie by loyalty and efficiency. Lieutenant, Va. Provincials, 1755. Commissioned Captain, 1756, to command company of Cherokees and Catawbas in the expedition against Shawnee Towns west of the Ohio, under Maj. Andw. Lewis. Commended. Served under Gens. Forbes, Stanwix, Monckton and Boquet, to end of French and Indian War; was first into Ft. Duquesne. Commended by Gen. Forbes; thanked by Lord Eglinton. Appointed Agent for Southern Indians. Served with effect on border of Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia, with headquarters at Ft. Pitt. Owing to great influence over the Cherokees, through his Indian wife, was ordered southward, where he might be "more centrically located to gather the Cherokees in event of an Indian outbreak;" and, in 1768, was located at the Big Canebrake, on Reedy River, headwaters of the Enoree, beyond the Indian Line, in So. Ca. Through his natural son by his Indian wife, secured an immense tract of land on the headwaters of the Enoree, 150,000 acres, at the Great Plains on Reedy River; where he conducted a large Indian station and trader's post, a center of great and widespreading influence among the Valley and Overhill Cherokees. Every effort was made by the Whigs, 1775, to secure him and the Indians to their interest or as neutrals. But, chagrined by the appointment of George McAlpine, (commonly styled Galphin), of Augusta, his rival in trade, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Congress, Southern Department, he took the King's part. As adjutant with Jo Robinson, Wm. Cunningham, Thos. Browne and Evan McLaurin, besieged Andrew Williamson at 96. Was taken at the battle of Big Canebrake, on Reedy, carried to Charles Town, and imprisoned nine months in irons in the common gaol. During incarceration his property and his trading-station were plundered and burned to the ground, his family deported, his cattle and stock used to feed Williamson's army on its famous march into the Indian country. Liberated, in the autumn of 1776, on taking an oath of neutrality, finding his property destroyed, his family deported, and his own life threatened, though protected for awhile by John Rutledge, Pearis, in company with Maj. Jo Robinson, Capt. John York, and Lieut. David Fanning, secretly raised 400 men to join the British in Florida; was betrayed, fled, on foot, through the wilderness, to Pensacola, 1777. Commissioned Cap-

tain, Light Horse Troop, Col. John Stewart's Corps West Florida Loyal Refugees, Jan., 1778. Operated with success about Mobile; reinforced St. Augustine against Howe's expedition; with Prevost invading Georgia; served defense of Savannah against French-American force; with Gen. Pattison at siege and reduction of Charles Town; commissioned Lt. Col. S. C. Provincials, by Sir H. Clinton, May 3, 1780; despatched to 96 District to raise and embody friends of government, with Innes and Balfour; served under Col. T. Browne defence of Ft. Cornwallis, Augusta; taken, at reduction by Pickens and Lee. His assassination attempted; was saved by Andw. Pickens, sent under safeguard to Savannah. Retired to East Florida, where his services were acknowledged in "extraordinary payment" by Sir Guy Carleton; died in the Island of Abaco, in much poverty, n.d.

Contributed by John Bennett.

South Carolina Hist. Geneal. Mag. V. 18

THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XVIII. APRIL, 1917 No. 2

LETTERS OF JOHN RUTLEDGE

Annotated by JOSEPH W. BARNWELL

(*Continued from the January number*)

("Account"[1] of American and British forces mentioned in letter of December 8th, 1780 printed in last issue of this *Magazine*, page 43.)

2 Forts–Augusta–300	Regrs.	60	& Mil. und. Brown.
Do.–96– 300	do.	150	& do.–Col: Cruger.
No Works.	Stephen's Crk.	50	Mil. under Kirkland.
Do. Except Blockhouses	Col. Williams on Little River	200	—Mil.–Brig.–Genl Robt. Cunningham
No Works	Shilers Ferry[2] Brd. River.	200	—Regrs. undr. Major McArthur.
	near abt.	300	do. –Tarlton
No Works	Winnsboro: Mila.	–900	Regrs.– Cornwallis wth. abt. 100 of Pearis[3]
close redt	Congaree–	60	Mila. Capt. Tullis (?)

[1] This "Account" or "State" is not printed in *Russells Magazine*.

[2] Shirers Ferry, frequently called Briersleys' and Strothers Ferry. See *Tarleton's Memoirs*, pp. 175, 184, 202, also excellent large map in same.

[3] See Historical Notes, this issue.

Cannon before Daylight—We have such confidence in you as to leave us no room to doubt your making a brave defence in case of an attack, & we are persuaded that you will do every thing that prudence will warrant to repel any force which may be brought against you.

We refer to Collº Moultrie more particular direction & heartily wish you success.

By order of the Council of Safety

Charles Town
15. Septem 1775—
Friday Night 9 oClock P.
Collº Motte

Endorsed: 2d Answer to Collº Motte
15 Septem 1775.

[53.]

[HENRY LAURENS TO WILLIAM HENRY DRAYTON.]

Charles Town 15. Septem. 1775.

Sir.—

Moses Kirkland came into Charles Town on Monday late in the Evening & disguised, repaired immediately to the Governor at whose House he was accomodated with a Bed & from whence he embarked on Tuesday Morning in the Tamar's Boat & got safe on board, that Man of War—these facts the General Committee were informed of on Wednesday—the Committee Examined a young Man one Bailey Chaney who was said to have accompanied Kirkland & amidst heaps of shuffling & prevarication they collected enough to confirm not only their belief of Kirkland's being actually on board the Man of War but also that His Excellency held a correspondence with our Enemies of a very different nature from that which he had endeavoured by various arts to represent to us as the true motive of his writing to Fletchal & others of that party, in order however to obtain more

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satisfactory proofs some of the Gentlemen of the Army by a stratagem which succeeded to their wish procured such from his own Mouth as were indubitable, the particulars of which we shall inclose & refer you to—hence-forward we can depend upon this Gentleman only as upon one who under the guise of neutrality & even pretended friendship is devoted to work our destruction—tis not improbable he will of his own Accord soon leave the Colony, if he has any feelings he must do so in preference to being looked in the Face by Gentlemen whom he has deceived & by whom he has been so clearly detected—be that as it may we judged it proper to send a party of men under the Command of Coll^o Motte to take possession of Fort Johnson which was effected before day light this morning & the Garrison consisting of the impudent Gunner Walker & four other men made prisoners—but Coll^o Motte reports that the Governor who was at the Fort yesterday had ordered a party of sailors on shore from the Tamar & by their means thrown the Cannon off the lower Battery & destroyed many of the Carriages

This moment your Packet dated 11th Inst by the hands of Fields Pardue was delivered to us—We approve of the measures you have taken & you may clearly perceive that even in instances where you have not been altogether clear & explicit in your advices we have imputed the deficiency to the right Cause & put the most favourable construction on all your Acts. Kirkland has eluded all your schemes, but we will not yet think him out of our Reach tis possible we may still bring him to answer for his misdeeds—his Companions Robinson, Brown & Cuningham's we hope will be taken or driven out of the Colony by you.

16th Septem. last night a packet arrived from Capt Pearis who was at Congaree with four Cherokees who were waiting for you—Mr Pearis laments your delay, represents the anxiety of the Indians & fears bad consequences will follow if they should return without seeing you or some person to Talk to them in your stead—this appears to be a matter of

S. C. Geneal. Hist. Mag. V. 1

great moment & will require your immediate attention—we need not inform you of the contempt in which Indians hold the man who deceives them & they scarcely know a difference & never will make the distinction when their friendship is Courted, between, disappointment & deceipt—Cameron too will exult & repeat his slanders, we therefore recommend this business to your most serious attention.

last night also the Governor who was on board the man of War sent Capt Innes to demand at Fort Johnson—

What Troops are in the Fort ?

Ans ? American Troops.

who Commands them ?

Ans. By what Authority do you ask it ?

By the Governors.
the Governor desires to know by what Authority you took possession of this Fort ?

Ans. By the express Command of the Council of Safety ?——

The man of War & Cherokee Guard ship are nevertheless still at Anchor in the Road We have reinforced the Garrison by an addition of 250 Rank & File--some volunteers are gone down & we have hopes that by this hour Coll° Motte has remounted his Cannon, Carriages & other necessary articles having been sent for that purpose before midnight—

the Swallow Packet arrived three days ago the Letters were long detained & we learn in general that the King & Administration are determined to reinforce Gen. Gage & also to throw Troops into all the Colonies—

We repeat our good wishes for your health & continued success— By order of the Council of Safety

H L
Presid!

S.C. Hist Geneal mag Vol. 1

If any thing I have Confusedly advanced this day should be denied, I beg the substance from you and shall produce an answer in Writing (I am no Orator) and I hope Witnesses ———

Endorsed: Edm^d Egan 19 Septr
1775. Read in Council
the 20th.[53]

[64.]

[HENRY LAURENS TO WILLIAM HENRY DRAYTON.]

Charles Town 21st Septem. 1775

Sir—

We refer to our last dated the 15th by your messenger from Ninety Six which we hope has reached you & that you are now on your way to meet those Indians who led by Capt Pearis came from the Cherokees at your Command & who have in the utmost anxiety & impatience been many days waiting for you.—

We have Several Copies of interupted Letters from the Superintendant at St Augustine to his Agents in the Nation they look so much like design to amuse us that we hold it unnecessary to trouble you with them but since you have entered upon that branch a Caution against every stratagem may not be unnecessary Pearis applies for a Commission to the Good Warrior if one is granted it must be special & you will be the best judge of the necessary terms we have therefore referred him to you.

Coll^o Wofford has likewise applied for Commissions in order to erect a whole Regiment in the Colony's service from Fletchall's district—for that purpose we send you 34

[53] From the private collection of A. S. Salley, Jr. See *The Sunday News*, Charleston, S C., March 19, 1899. Egan had evidently not recovered from his confusion at the time he wrote this letter, and omitted certain words that were essential to the sense of the letter.

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signed by us & blanks left for you to fill up you will keep a Copy of the names of Officers &c° as formerly directed—

We are called together by an alarming account which threatens the destruction of this Town by three Frigates & a Bomb Ketch we hope it may prove a groundless report—but it becomes us to act instantly as if was real—We shall be glad to hear that you have established peace & quietness on our backs & of your outset for Charles Town as soon after as you please By order of the Council

The Honble W H. Drayton

Endorsed: Copy to W H Drayton
21st should have been
the 20th

FIRST

[65.]

Pay Bill of Captain Purvis's Company in the Regiment of Rangers commanded by William Thomson

setbacks, his negotiations helped to extend the borders of South Carolina into Cherokee territory and made possible settlements in the Piedmont. Wallace calls him the "most progressive and active of any of our royal governors," an administrator who "traveled through the province oftener and farther than any provincial governor before or after him to see 'what improvements have been made' and what ought to be done, and to win the friendship of the Indians and encourage the back settlers." [2]

Glen's first foray into the back country began in 1746 with a cavalcade of 200 militiamen and fifty gentlemen-volunteers to meet the headmen of the Catawbas at the Congarees, the Cherokees at Ninety Six, and the Creeks and Chickasaws at Fort Moore. One main objective was to persuade the Indians to attack the French, in which he failed, but he made a lasting impression. The next year he bought from the Cherokees of the Lower Towns "all their lands south and east of Long Canes Creek . . . and a line running in general northward and northeastward from its head." [3] This embraced much of later Abbeville County and land beyond. Though the Overhill Cherokees declined to ratify the sale, it was a beginning of efforts ultimately successful to acquire Cherokee lands in upper South Carolina.

Glen's negotiations with the Cherokees were long, tedious, and frustrating. During 1751 and 1752, progress was stopped by a war between them and the Creeks. The Cherokees had many grievances against the white traders, whom they occasionally murdered. They complained about their men being debauched with rum and their women being violated. The traders had even cut short their yardsticks with which they measured deerskins. Glen at least made amends for this by sending the chiefs new steel yardsticks.

At last, in 1753, he agreed to build a fort at Keowee to protect the Indians from northern enemies, such as raiding Senecas. In October of that year Glen set out for Keowee and erected

2. Wallace, *South Carolina*, p. 163.
3. Wallace, *South Carolina*, p. 164.

Fort Prince George on a site now covered by Lake Keowee. Because neither side was completely satisfied, Glen called a great powwow at Saluda Old Town, below Ninety Six, in June 1755.

The ruling chief of the Overhills, Connecorte, known to the English as "Old Hop," and the principal chief of the Lower Towns, Attakullakulla, known as "Little Carpenter," came with some 500 warriors. Not to be outdone, Glen arrived with nearly as many militiamen and gentlemen, splendidly garbed—and with horse-loads of presents without which no Indian conference could hope to succeed. The upshot of the conclave was that Glen promised to build another fort at the junction of the Little Tennessee and the Tellico rivers to protect the Overhills from their enemies. Completed in 1757, it was named Fort Loudoun. In return, Old Hop agreed to cede to King George II all the Cherokee lands in South Carolina except the northwest corner comprising present-day Greenville, Anderson, Pickens, and Oconee counties. The ceded land was actually unoccupied by the Indians, but whether they intended to open it for white settlement is a moot question.

Whatever the intention of the Cherokees might have been, the problem was resolved in the next seven years by subsequent purchases, war, and treaties. North Carolina built Fort Dobbs near modern Salisbury on the route that immigrants from Virginia and Pennsylvania followed into North and South Carolina. From the mid-eighteenth century onward, pioneers straggled down the Yadkin valley into South Carolina. But life was hazardous on the frontier, and periodic hostility by dissident groups of Cherokees resulted in the killing of both traders and settlers. The whites retaliated sometimes with savagery equal to that of Indians. The peace that Glen had hoped to achieve evaded him. On the way to supervise the erection of Fort Loudoun in the summer of 1756, he learned that he had been superseded by William Henry Lyttleton, a baron and former ambassador to Portugal, who felt confident of his ability to handle any problem, certainly one dealing with a few rude savages.

A series of frontier killings precipitated a state of war in September 1759, when the Indians attacked Fort Prince George.

Lyttleton led an expedition to the fort in December and made a short-lived peace, retaining twenty-two hostages until the Cherokees surrendered the murderers of a number of whites. Open war broke out in January of the next year. Cherokees sent raiding parties against Ninety Six and settlements to the south, killing as they went. The soldiers at Fort Prince George, in retaliation for the murder of one of their men, slaughtered the twenty-two hostages. For the next two years the frontier blazed with gunfire. Meantime, in April 1759, Lyttleton returned to England and left the colony in better hands, those of Lieutenant Governor William Bull.

Among the devastated settlements was one in the Long Canes, occupied by Ulster Scots. As they were evacuating to take refuge in Augusta, a party of nearly 100 Cherokee warriors fell on them and butchered men, women, and children, variously reported from twenty-three to fifty-five persons, including the mother of Patrick Calhoun and grandmother of John C. Calhoun.

The provincial government, threatened with widening warfare on the frontiers, appealed for aid to General Sir Jeffrey Amherst, over-all commander of British troops in North America. To the rescue he sent Colonel Archibald Montgomery with a battalion of Highlanders and four companies of Royal Scots, numbering about 1,200 men. Enlisting as many of the militia as he could, Montgomery marched from Monck's Corner in the spring of 1760 and reached the Lower Towns of the Cherokee on June 1. Burning villages, cutting down the growing corn, and killing or capturing as many Indians as he could, he relieved Fort Prince George and continued into North Carolina where he engaged in a battle near modern Franklin. Montgomery had learned little about Indian warfare since Braddock's defeat and lost twenty men killed and seventy-six wounded.

Boasting that he had "chastised" the Indians, Montgomery took all except 400 of his Scots back north to join Amherst, but his destruction of Cherokee homes and crops had succeeded only in infuriating the tribesmen. Soon after his departure, the Overhills isolated and starved out Fort Loudoun. Although the Indians promised to let the 200-man garrison depart in safety,

V Lnd Eglinton

they ambushed them, killed thirty, and made the rest prisoners.

The renewal of war in 1761 induced Lieutenant Governor Bull to ask Amherst again for aid. This time he sent another Scot, pugnacious and obstinate Lieutenant Colonel James Grant, with 1,200 regulars to add to the 400 already in South Carolina. Enlisting additional militia, the troops marched over the mountains and fought a bloody battle near where Montgomery had been attacked. Grant succeeded in burning the Cherokee towns, completely destroying their crops, and driving the Indians into the mountains to starve. The Cherokees had to sue for peace and make a humiliating treaty that left the Piedmont open to immigrants.

The Cherokee War was hardly over before Scottish pioneers and others were pouring down from Virginia and Pennsylvania and moving up from Charleston to stake out homes for themselves. Within the next fifteen years, the Up Country would be dotted with settlements as small farmers cleared land, planted corn and wheat, turned cattle loose to forage in the cane brakes and fields of wild pea-vines, and let their hogs fatten on acorns in the forests. It was a promising land for farmers who expected little except subsistence. It was too far from distant markets to attract planters who hoped to get rich from the labor of slaves. Few in the Up Country for many years to come would own a slave or benefit from labor other than their own and that of their families. A scattering of Low Country planters, perhaps with clairvoyance about the future, contrived to get grants in the Up Country, but greater opportunities, opening up about the same time in Georgia, for rice and forest products resulting from slave labor, sent most tidewater planters scrambling for new land grants there.

To encourage small farmers to settle in the western part of the colony, the provincial government set aside three large townships west of a line from Ninety Six to Due West: Boonesborough on Long Canes Creek; Hillsborough on Little River; and Belfast or Londonborough on Hard Labor Creek. Eager to bring in settlers, the provincial assembly in 1761 provided passage money of £4 sterling for "respectable poor Protestants" from Great Britain and Ireland. Children aged from twelve to

two would receive £2 passage money. In addition, bounties would be given for the purchase of tools. This generosity resulted in a flood of Ulster Scots as well as some Lowland Scots, Welsh, and English emigrating to the Up Country. A few French settled at New Bordeaux and Abbeville. A sprinkling of Germans also came from overseas, and still others came down from Pennsylvania and Maryland. Before the outbreak of the War of Independence, the Up Country had a well-established citizenry of industrious farmers, grateful for the opportunity to own land on which they had been promised exemption from taxes for ten years.

The rapidity with which upper South Carolina was settled after the middle of the eighteenth century was phenomenal. Even before the Cherokee menace was diminished, settlers were streaming down the mountain valleys to the vicinity of Salisbury, North Carolina, whence they fanned out into North and South Carolina. The defeat of General Braddock in 1755 in his attempt to capture Fort Duquesne (later Pittsburgh) discouraged pioneers on the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiers and sent many searching for safer homes in the Carolinas. After the elimination of the French in 1763 at the conclusion of the Seven Years' War, many more settlers from the northern colonies came through the Shenandoah Valley, the "Great Wagon Road," and through Blue Ridge gaps into the Carolinas. Most managed to get legal grants to their lands, but a fair number were simply squatters. Among these immigrants, who met others coming up from the coast, were some rascals and rogues who were to cause infinite trouble in the back country, safe from the arm of the law.

Many of the settlers came with only a pitiful supply of this world's goods: a horse and a cow if they were lucky, the clothes on their backs, the simplest of cooking utensils (one or two pots, two or three pewter spoons, and a knife or two), one or more quilts apiece, and often little else. Not every immigrant owned a long rifle but most contrived to procure some sort of firearm—if not always one of the prized Lancaster-made rifles later known as the Kentucky rifle. One indispensable article every man carried was an axe.

With his axe, the frontiersman cut down saplings and made his first crude brush lean-to, to be replaced as soon as possible by a log cabin. With his axe, too, he hewed out a frame for a bed, laced across with vines on which he piled pine bows until he could procure a tick-and-straw mattress. Puncheon benches served in place of chairs. On wooden pegs he could hang such clothes as he could spare from his body. The floor at first was dirt, tamped down and sometimes covered with rushes or pine needles. Cooking was done over an open fire, at first outdoors, but after the building of a cabin with its stick-and-mud chimney, in the fireplace. Such was the simple equipment of many a backwoodsman whose courageous wife shared both his privations and his hardest labor.

Not all immigrants, of course, were so destitute, and some came with better tools, more household goods, and ample livestock. A surprising number had whipsaws with which they made clapboards and floor boards for their houses. Very soon simple dwellings of two rooms—with an ell for a kitchen, fireplaces at each end, a loft, and a porch across the front—replaced log cabins on the more prosperous farms. Some were even more commodious. A good example of a larger structure is the Kate Barry house a few miles south of Spartanburg, built before the Revolution when Indian attacks were still a hazard. Paint was virtually unknown in the Up Country and houses for years to come weathered to a soft gray.

By the decade before the Revolution, a few rough wagon roads connected with water transport on the Wateree or with a more central wagon road that led through the site of Columbia to Charleston. The journey was long and hard, but with difficulty the backwoods farmer could take to market wheat—or flour after mills were built—peas, corn, cured meats, butter in wooden tubs, cheese, and skins and furs obtained in winter hunting or trapping. Such products he exchanged for sugar, tea or coffee, powder and shot, cutlery, and utensils that he could not make for himself. He might also procure cloth and a few articles of clothing. Spinning and weaving, both of wool and flax, however, provided most households with needed apparel. Leisure, obviously, was not a problem for our ancestors in the Up

tuous reference to the inhabitants of the hinterland as "idle vagabonds, the mere dregs of mankind," [5] a view that Lieutenant Governor William Bull had the wisdom to refute.

Violent trouble began because the back country could not protect itself against organized bands of thieves and robbers who drove off their cattle, stole their horses, rode over and ruined their crops, sometimes violated their wives, and burned down their houses. Appeals to Charleston did little good. The criminals openly defied the few constables sent to arrest them. At length the frontiersmen, like citizens of San Francisco in Gold Rush days, took the law into their own hands and organized vigilantes—only they called the law enforcement group "Regulators." But so strong and well organized were the criminals that they sometimes outfought and horsewhipped the Regulators and even had the gall to take some of them to Charleston as law-breakers and "insurrectionists."

Not only was the exposed back country unprotected from organized crime, but it had no local magistrates, no courts, and no legal machinery nearer than Charleston. The recording of a deed or the proving of a will required the long, arduous journey to the capital, the payment of fees to Charleston officials, and often the employment of Charleston lawyers. All criminal cases and civil suits, wherever they originated, had to be heard in Charleston. Equally annoying was the fact that undeveloped land in the hills was taxed at the same rate as the most productive rice plantations. Furthermore, backwoodsmen pointed out, this was "taxation without representation," because they had no members in the Commons House to look after their interests. To remedy these inequities, they demanded courts and representation in the legislative assembly.

Governor Glen in 1753 had urged the establishment of courts beyond Charleston for the greater convenience of the citizens, but a bill to establish them died in the Commons House. The Charleston lobby knew a good thing and was determined not to permit the dispersal of the legal business of the colony. In 1767 Charles Woodmason drafted a petition from 4,000 backcountrymen, demanding a redress of grievances. They were talking of marching on Charleston to present the petition in a body; hotheads even talked of taking over some of the plantations.

5. Wallace, *South Carolina*, p. 226.

In the meantime, the Regulator movement was complicating the protest, for the Regulators had refused to recognize or obey orders from the legal authorities in Charleston. They had even fought a pitched battle on the Great Pee Dee River with a Charleston posse sent to carry out a legal order against them and had killed one member of the posse. The whole back country was in an uproar. A Regulator movement in North Carolina, which resulted in a pitched battle at Alamance in 1771, was partially stimulated by the activities of the South Carolinians. The Up Country was ripe for rebellion, and the lamentations of the Low Country over the tyranny of Great Britain in passing the Stamp Act had fallen on deaf ears beyond the fall line. A nearer tyranny bothered the small farmers.

At length, after several efforts, a circuit court act became law and was approved by the king on November 25, 1769. The act provided for seven court districts and for courts to meet three times each year in Charleston and twice annually in Beaufort, Orangeburg, Ninety Six, Camden, Cheraw, and Georgetown. The first courts were held in these districts in November 1772. Before the outbreak of the War of Independence the back country had elected three representatives to the legislative assembly, including John C. Calhoun's father. It was not much, but it was a beginning.

The ill will aroused by Charleston's long disdain of the people on the frontiers helps to account for the unwillingness of backcountrymen to throw up their hats and cheer for the "Patriots" when the War of Independence broke out. As Wallace comments, the memory of the bitter struggle over the court act "made many a man a few years later scorn to follow, against the sovereign who had given him his land, the cross-country politicians from whom he felt he had suffered far greater wrongs than any imposed by Parliament or King." [6]

6. Wallace, *South Carolina*, p. 229.

tea was brought ashore, stored in the cellars of the new Exchange building, and later sold for the benefit of rebel patriots fighting the British.

In the meantime, two acts of the South Carolinians annoyed the royal authorities. In 1766, the Commons House appropriated £1,000 sterling to procure a marble statue of William Pitt, which was duly erected at the intersection of Broad and Meeting streets—a traffic hazard, but a symbol of the colony's appreciation of Pitt's labors in getting the Stamp Act repealed. The other act, in the eyes of royal authorities, was downright impudent: in 1769, the Commons House voted to send £1,500 sterling to England as a contribution to help pay the debts of John Wilkes, under attack for allegedly libeling King George in his newspaper, the *North Briton*. Wilkes, a notorious character who would not have been welcomed at the dinner tables of Charleston gentlemen, nevertheless became a symbol of the fight for freedom of the press and support of the Bill of Rights.

The appropriation by the South Carolina Commons House for Wilkes became a constitutional issue, as royal authorities asserted that money could not be appropriated without approval of the governor and Council. The quarrel over the right of the Commons House to have sole authority to enact money bills dragged on until the eve of the Revolution and finally ended in tacit agreement to the authority of the Commons.

As difficulties with Great Britain increased in all the colonies, South Carolina took measures leading ultimately to the organization of representative government in the colony. The tea tax agitation led to the December 1773 mass meeting of citizens of the colony that agreed to import no tea. But an action of greater importance occurred at another mass meeting on January 20, 1774, when the group voted to make its organization permanent and appointed a large committee to enforce nonimportation and other resolutions passed by the general meeting. In June of the same year the general committee elected a committee of ninety-nine composed of fifteen merchants, fifteen mechanics, and sixty-nine planters at large to serve in effect as the governing body of the colony. Charles Pinckney was elected chairman. South Carolina was launched on a course that would lead to a

break with Great Britain, even though few except Christopher Gadsden and some of his fellow radicals were yet ready to take so drastic a step.

To the first Continental Congress of all the colonies, held in Philadelphia in September 1774, South Carolina sent five delegates: Christopher Gadsden, Edward Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Henry Middleton, and John Rutledge. The last two, put up by the merchants, were regarded as conservative in their points of view.

Joseph Galloway of Pennsylvania proposed a plan of union with a legislature to deal with the internal problems of the colonies. Although this measure did not pass, the Congress did agree on a "Continental Association" to enforce the boycotts of trade with Great Britain and to take such other steps as might be deemed expedient. Both Gadsden and Lynch were eloquent in behalf of colonial rights. Gadsden, it was said, outdid even the Boston Sons of Liberty in his advocacy of resistance to British tyranny.

The Continental Congress agreed to allow the continued export of rice to Great Britain. The South Carolina delegation, with Gadsden refusing to go along with his colleagues, argued that, unless rice were exported, South Carolina would be economically paralyzed. Because the export of indigo was forbidden under the nonexportation resolution, the indigo growers raised such a protest that the South Carolinians had to agree to devote one third of the proceeds from the export of rice to subsidizing other crops, chiefly indigo.

South Carolina in January 1775 organized a Provincial Congress which included forty-six delegates from the back country. Although back-country representatives were still in the minority, at least a beginning was being made to include the whole of the province in the government.

Three months later, South Carolina's first overt act of revolution occurred in Charleston. On the night of April 21, 1775, the Provincial Congress's Secret Committee of five, headed by William Henry Drayton, seized 1,600 pounds of gunpowder, 800 guns, and 200 cutlasses—property of the government. After an "investigation" at the behest of Lieutenant Governor Bull, the

Commons House solemnly reported that it was unable to identify the culprits but that evidently the action was taken because of "the late alarming accounts from Great Britain." Thus ended the farce of an investigation with members of the powder party sitting in the House.

A report of the Battle of Lexington in Massushusetts reached Charleston on May 8, 1775, and stirred the town to action. The Provincial Congress, whose president was Henry Laurens, authorized the enlisting and training of 1,500 troops. A rumor reaching Charleston from a correspondent in London asserted that the British were planning to stir up the slaves to revolt and to encourage Indian attacks on the frontiers. An association was formed, with instructions to sign up citizens to oppose the authority of the king and to blacklist as enemies those citizens who refused to sign. This procedure, which opened the way for tarring and feathering and other mob action, incensed Laurens and his fellow moderates, but they could not stem the tide of violence unleashed by the demagoguery of the firebrands. The Commons House authorized the issuance of £1,000,000 in paper currency and then quietly passed out of existence. The Provincial Congress, through its Council of Safety, now served as the governing body.

A new royal governor, Lord William Campbell, arrived on June 18, 1775, and was coldly received. Nevertheless, a delegation from the Provincial Congress requested him to inform the king that his loyal subjects were not desirous of independence. Desirous or not, South Carolinians would soon be caught in the rush of events that would lead to independence. Fifteen months later, Lord William himself would have to slip out of Charleston and be rowed to a British man-of-war, taking with him the Great Seal of the colony, thus ending royal rule.

Emotions were soon running high in Charleston, as the radicals whipped up sentiment against all who disagreed with them. In June 1775, two citizens, James Dealy and Laughlin Martin, accused of speaking ill of the Committee of Correspondence and expressing a hope that Roman Catholics, Indians, and Negroes would be armed, were tarred and feathered. Later in the summer, a gunner from the British garrison at Fort Johnson near

Charleston was also tarred and feathered for something he had said. On August 18, a free Negro pilot, accused of saying he would gladly pilot British warships across the bar of Charleston harbor, was summarily hanged. Charlestonians who opposed the activities of the revolutionary association were vulnerable to mob action. William Wragg, for example, who remained loyal to the king and refused to sign the association's compact, was driven out of Charleston and, finally sailing for England, was shipwrecked and drowned. The reign of violence that would characterize much of Carolina's history had begun.

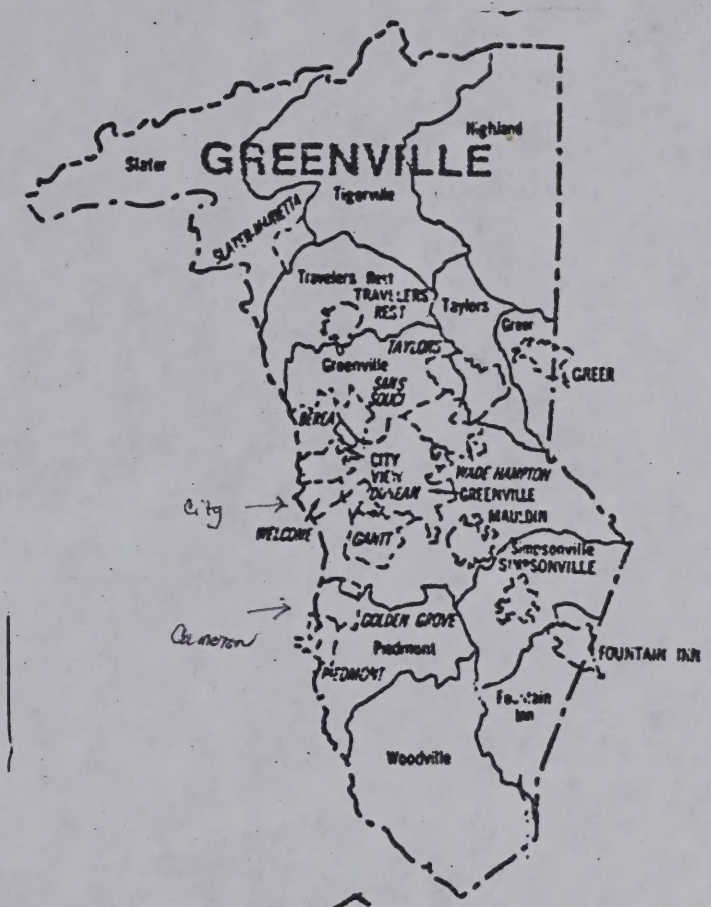
Although the fiery Whigs could call a meeting of the "Liberty Boys" in Charleston and whip them into a lather against King George, the back country remained lethargic and unexcited. To remedy this situation, the Charleston revolutionaries decided to send William Henry Drayton and William Tennent, a Congregational preacher, to the hinterland to explain to the backwoodsmen that their liberties were threatened by King George and that they must join their Low-Country brethren to save themselves from slavery to Great Britain.

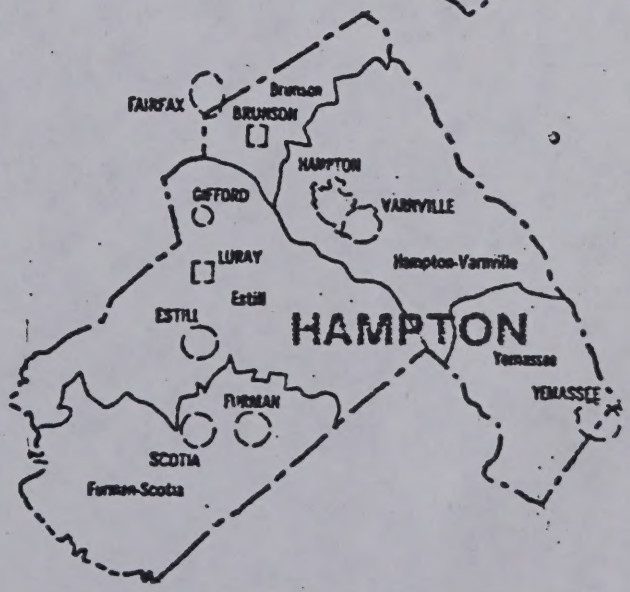
Drayton, a young aristocrat who earlier had been contemptuous of the unwashed multitude, had now become a violent democrat opposed to all British authority. Tennent was a Dissenting preacher with a considerable popular following. They moved up through the middle region by way of Camden and on into the frontier region, preaching the gospel of rebellion against King George. Their message fell on barren ground. The Germans who had received land from the king were unmoved. The Scots of the interior not only were unmoved, they were hostile to the messengers from Charleston. Among the Scottish leaders in the Saluda River region were Patrick and Robert Cunningham, later to become powerful Tories. Another was Thomas Brown, a cultivated, well-to-do Scot living on the Carolina side of the Savannah River near Augusta, who made fun of the Liberty Boys and was tarred and feathered for this impiety. Later, in the guerrilla wars between Whigs and Tories, Brown wreaked repeated revenge upon his Whig enemies. Bitter Whig and Tory animosity was already beginning in the back country.

Drayton persuaded the Council of Safety that anti-Revolution

Georgetown County (Continued)
- Georgetown township (No. 3)
- Murrells Inlet (CDP)
- Murrels Inlet township (No. 7)
- Pee Dee and Choppee township (No. 5)
- Plantersville division
- Pleasant Hill division
- Pleasant Hill-Folly Grove division
- Sampit division
- Sampit township (No. 2)
- Sampit-Santee division
- Santee division
- Santee township (No. 1)
- Waccamaw division

Greenville County
- Austin township
- Bates township
- Berea (CDP)
- Butler township
- Chick-Springs township
- City View town
- Cleveland township
- Conetee division
- Duncan (CDP)
- Dunklin township
- Fairview township
- Fountain Heights division
- Fountain Inn division
- Fountain Inn town (pt.)
- Gantt (CDP)
- Gantt township
- Glassy Mountain township
- Golden Grove (CDP)
- Greenville city
- Greenville division
- Greenville East division
- Greenville North division
- Greenville Southwest division
- Greenville township
- Greer city (pt.)
- Greer division
- Grove township
- Highland division
- Highland township
- Marietta (CDP)
- Mauldin city
- O'Neal township
- Oaklawn township
- Paris division
- Paris Mountain township
- Piedmont (CDP) (pt.)
- Piedmont division
- Riverside division
- Saluda township
- Sans Souci (CDP)
- Simpsonville division
- Simpsonville town
- Slater (CDP)
- Slater division
- Taylors (CDP)
- Taylors division
- Tigerville division
- Travelers Rest city
- Travelers Rest division
- Wade Hampton (CDP)
- Welcome (CDP)
- Woodville division






GREENVILLE


HAMPTON

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY

OF THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION:

LETTERS AND PAPERS RELATING TO THE CONTEST FOR LIBERTY, CHIEFLY IN SOUTH CAROLINA, NOW GENERALLY TO THE PROTECTION OF THE REVOLUTION, AND OTHER SUBJECTS.

VOL. I.

1764-1776.

BY R. W. GIBBES, M.D.

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON & CO.
1855.

These letters are highly biased, written by "Patriot" military captains or colonels or great landowners, so do not give a totally accurate view.

See, 267, Pearis affidavit
240/1 - capture of Pearis & the others (by 12 Dec 1775)
249-253 - list of 136 prisoners sent to Charleston (includes Richard Pearis, Robert Pearis, Samuel Neely, etc.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY

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CONSISTING OF

LETTERS AND PAPERS RELATING TO THE CONTEST FOR LIBERTY, CHIEFLY IN SOUTH CAROLINA, FROM ORIGINALS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE EDITOR, AND OTHER SOURCES.

Vol. 1

1764-1776.

BY R. W. GIBBES, M.D.,

MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE; OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY; OF THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY; OF THE PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY; OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE, WASHINGTON; OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUARIES OF COPENHAGEN; OF THE ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES, PHILADELPHIA; OF THE BOSTON SOCIETY OF NATURAL HISTORY; OF THE LYCEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY OF NEW YORK; OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF DESIGN OF NEW YORK, &C., &C.

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1855.

give them battle; but, upon consideration, we thought it most prudent to march all our men to Col. Savages' old field, near Ninety-Six, as our numbers were small, compared with the other party, and to fortify the same with the rails thereabouts. We arrived there about day break, and in about two hours a square of one hundred and eighty-five yards, was fortified in such a manner as to keep off the enemy; but before three days had expired, our men began to be outrageous for want of bread and water, and we had not above sixteen pounds of gunpowder left. On Tuesday last, in the afternoon, the enemy held out a flag of truce and sent into our fort a messenger with a letter from Major Robinson to myself, which was the first beginning of this treaty. We have only one man dead since this battle, and eleven wounded; some will be mortal by the doctor's opinion. The enemy say they had but one man dead, who is a Capt. Luper, and about the same number wounded as ours; by the best information they have buried at least twenty-seven men, and have as many wounded. I am certain I saw three fall at the first fire from our side. The swivels are to be delivered up this evening to us, although inserted in the articles of cessation as given by us up, as agreed to by the head men of the other party.

JAS. MAYSON.

Nov 25 1777
Siege of 96

MAJ. WILLIAMSON TO MR. DRAYTON, GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF THE SIEGE, ACTION, AND TREATY AT NINETY-SIX.

[Original MS.]

WHITE HALL, Nov. 25, 1775.

To the Honorable William Henry Drayton, Esq.,

SIR:—Your letter by order of Congress dated the 9th inst., I received on the 14th, by the Express, and am happy to find my past conduct met the approbation of your Honor and the Congress. It shall always be my study to discharge my duty and the trust reposed in me by that respectable body. Before I received your letter I had reinforced Fort Charlotte with fifty-two militia and supplied them with provisions, and have since given orders for their continuing there one month longer; I have also furnished Captain Caldwell with iron for the carriages to mount the guns.

I should have had the Honor of transmitting you an account of my situation before now, but could obtain no certain intelligence from the

opposite party, until the seventeenth instant in the night (notwithstanding I had used all possible endeavors and some expense to obtain some knowledge of their strength and designs) when I learned their numbers amounted to at least fifteen hundred men, and understood that it was chiefly owing to an affidavit made by Capt. Richard Pearis, that so many men were embodied—a copy whereof I now inclose you, as also a copy of the oaths they imposed on those who happened to fall into their hands, all of whom they disarmed except such as were willing to join their party.

On the eighteenth, in the evening, I received certain information that they were crossing Saluda river on their March towards us, and then was joined by Maj. Mayson, with thirty-seven rangers. I immediately ordered the men under arms, and took the resolution of marching to meet them, and demanding their intentions, and if they were determined to come to action to be ready before them, and on acquainting the officers and men thereof, found them all cheerful and willing to proceed, but afterwards reflecting on the fatal consequences should we have been defeated, proposed in a Council of War, consisting of Maj. Mayson and all the Captains, to march from the camp near Ninety-six into the cleared ground of Col. Savage's plantation, where we could use our artillery with advantage, and there fortify our camp till we should receive more certain information of their strength (being in immediate expectation of being joined by Col. Thompson and the rangers at least, and also some men from the lower part of this regiment and Augusta,) which was unanimously approved of, and early next morning we marched to Ninety-Six with all our provision and baggage, and in about three hours erected a kind of fortification of old fence rails joined to a barn and some out houses, which before we had quite completed they had surrounded us with a large body of men with drums and colors. I then sent out an officer to demand their intention, who, on his return reported that Major Robinson and Mr. Patrick Cunningham refused to have any conference but with the commanding officers. I then sent out Major Mayson and Mr. Bowie, whom they and Mr. Evan McLaurin met between their men and the fort in sight of both, and after about fifteen minutes conference they returned, and reported that they insisted on our immediately delivering up our arms to them and dispersing; which were the only terms they were determined to grant us, and that at parting they told them to keep our people within the fort, which was the only place where they could be safe; and immediately they took two of our people just by the fort, before my face, whom I gave orders to retake, and a warm engagement ensued, which continued with very little

ascertain the number of my men, as I have not, from the bustle, been able to obtain regular returns, and which, I believe, at this time, amount to about one thousand, with daily additions, and soon expect as many more, if they can fortunately join, which I hope may answer every purpose. Though we hear the opposers are very numerous and violent and desperate, yet hope in a little time to give you a more full account of our army and our opposers, who are now much elated and carry a high hand. But though much, very much, depends upon this campaign, do not be under too great apprehension for the event. If God is for us, we have nothing to fear. I might tell a thousand hearsays, but nothing of moment to depend on. I am ready to receive any orders, and execute any commands that may redound to the peace and tranquility of my country, that I may be favored with in return, by the bearer, which please dispatch without loss of time.

With profound respect,

I am, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

RICH'D. RICHARDSON.

P. S. I mean one thousand militia; expect more soon, &c.

P. S. After I wrote and sealed, about 12 o'clock last night we were alarmed by some of our rangers, which we had sent light to discover where Col. Thomas was, who, I heard, was on his way, in a dangerous part; they came to him about 22 miles from us, who had three prisoners. Lieut. Boykin, who commanded that light detachment of rangers, reported that Col. Thomas had stopped about dark to take a mouthful and refresh, intending then to drive on while he (Boykin) was there. Col. Thomas received a letter, informing him that Maj. Robinson was pursuing him with a thousand men, and would be cut off before he crossed the river. I immediately detached a party of rangers, volunteers and militia, sufficient I hope to sustain him. This evening have not yet heard; think, if proper instructions be given to look sharp for Robinson in his way to town. It would be a great matter to get him without his putting himself in your power; a good watch at Dorchester, and other proper places may secure him, for, I think, it will be his only refuge soon. I just heard from Col. Neal, not above twenty-five miles off. Do not let the expenses of this expedition be thought of; the state of our country just now require it, great as it may be. I am really ashamed of this scrawl, but courtesy is not to be expected here, where a man must have the eyes of Argus, and as many ears as eyes.

I am, with obedience,

Yours, as before,

R. R.

[illegible] Thomas took Capt. Mayfield and two more, whom [illegible] from him last night. I just received account that [illegible] is march, and will soon join us, &c. I fear we shall [illegible] inconvenience in getting the cannon from Fort Charlotte [illegible] want them, and powder we shall surely want, and perhaps [illegible] we are too sparing.

[illegible] OF THE MILITIA AND VOLUNTEERS ON DUTY [illegible] CAMP AT NINETY-SIX ON SUNDAY THE [illegible] OCTOBER, 1775, UNDER THE COMMAND OF MAJOR [illegible] RICHARDSON, BY ORDER OF THE HONORABLE THE [illegible] CONGRESS.

[Original MS.]

No. of Men	Names of the Commanding Officers of the several Companies.	No. of Officers	No. of Sergt's.	No. of [illegible]	[illegible]
1	George Reed,	1	2	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	Andrew Pickens,	2	3	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	Aaron Smith,	3	2	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	Benjamin Tutt,	3	2	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	Andrew Hamilton,	3	2	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	Thomas Langdon,	2	1	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	Adam C. Jones,	2	2	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	Matthew Berard,	3	0	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	Charles Williams,	1	2	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	Francis Logan,	2	1	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	Alexander Noble,	2	0	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	John Anderson,	2	1	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	James Williams,	2	2	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	Robert McCreery,	3	2	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	John Rodgers,	3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	Jacob Colson,	2	1	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	Hugh Middleton,	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	Francis Singuefield,	2	0	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	James McCall,	3	3	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	David [illegible]	2	2	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	Jo[illegible]	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	0	[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible] rangers ought to be added

ment; for in addition to much difficulty, I had nearly drowned my best horse, and was glad to return to the house. He now kindly offered to set me over *gratis*. I accepted it and undertook, as there was no other hand, to steer the Flat up against the stream; but in my life I never endured more burning heat of the sun; I stripped to my shirt and labored hard for four hours to gain but one mile. Got to the ferry house much spent, and after a little refreshment threw myself on a bed and slept; awoke in a sweat much relieved by it. My friends would have smiled to see my repast and the figure I cut in eating it; fried pork and milk was a dish to which necessity gave a high relish. It was in the night before I reached the widow Allison's. It is an easy matter to write novels, if a man travels and describes nothing more than the truth. The world is full of vanity, and you meet with such comical animals upon the face of it, that to paint well is sufficient to interest a reader. At the tavern found a recruiting sergeant and some newly enlisted soldiers. But—hold—I have other business to do, than to write every thing I see and hear. I slept well, thank God, and got once more into my carriage on the morning.

12th.—But, to my unspeakable mortification, perceived that my two best horses were foundered, by getting into the corn field last night. Hobbled along with the greatest difficulty to Coosaw bridge. Was informed by Mr. DeSaussure, that there was to be a meeting of the officers of Beaufort Regiment at Vanbibber's tavern, where I might be furnished with horses. Concluded to stay and dine with them. In the mean time met with the unfortunate Dr. David Gould, whose narrative was truly affecting. Was very politely treated by Col. Bull and others; horses were found me at the first word. After much conversation on interesting matters, rode to my plantation. This day's jaunt was only twenty miles.

13th.—Found matters in good order at the plantation; but my horses so poor as not to permit my taking one of them with me. Gave the necessary orders in my own affairs, and rode in the evening to Dr. Budd's, eight miles.

Found there Mr. DeSaussure and Dr. Gould, by whom I was informed of the unmanly manner in which a certain Doctor had ordered the horse he had lent me out of my chaise.

Mr. Hamilton's coming, relieved me from my difficulty by promising me horses in the morning.

14th.—My horses were so entirely weakened that with difficulty they dragged me to Arthur Middleton's plantation where fresh horses met me. With only one small disaster, reached Mr. James Skirving's to dine.

He politely offered me horses to town, and with a pair of them got to Mr. Jo. Bee's in the evening; rode about thirty miles.

15th.—Set out in the rain and rode this day through the greatest quantity of water I remember ever to have seen. Met with some small difficulties but had them all compensated by the joy of my dear family and friends on my safe arrival.

RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF SAFETY.

[Original MS.]

CHARLES TOWN, December 12th, 1775.

In the Council of Safety.

The memorial of Messrs. Samuel and Benjamin Legare, of Charles Town, merchants, and affidavit therein referred to, being taken into consideration.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Council, that Messrs. Samuel and Benjamin Legare, may justly seize, and take into their possession, and cause to be sold at public auction, after ten days' notice, any effects of Lord William Campbell, in Charles Town, and out of the said sale to reimburse themselves to the amount of one hundred and sixty half-Johannes's, set forth in their memorial to be unjustly detained; and also a sufficient sum to defray the expenses attending the said sale, and incidental charges, returning the overplus, if any there shall be, to the said Lord William Campbell, or to his representative in Charles Town. And, that the said Samuel and Benjamin Legare should, previous to this sale, give the Lord William Campbell due notice of this resolution, to the end that his lordship may, by a restitution of their property, prevent the said sale if he shall think proper.

A true copy from the minutes.

PETER TIMOTHY, *Secretary*.

[redacted]

COL. RICHARDSON TO THE HON. HENRY LAURENS.

[Original MS.]

CAMP GREAT SURVEY, DUNCAN'S CREEK, Dec. 12, 1775.

SIR:—In the evening of yesterday, the honor of your commands from the Council of Safety, came to hand by the Express, which has given me infinite satisfaction, the rather as they convey the lenitive measures, which I have been happy at the distance of two hundred miles to adopt. The eighth instant I wrote and made public a kind of declaration, of which I herewith inclose a copy, which I hope may in some measure meet with your approbation, upon which they have come in, many of them, and delivered up their arms, all of whom, where they have not been capital offenders, I dismiss with soft words and cheerful countenances, and admonish them to use their interest with their friends and neighbors, which seems to have a good effect. Our army which is now formidable strikes terror, and the opposite party have hitherto fled before us, keeping fifteen or twenty miles distant. We often are told they will give battle, but yet have not attempted it, and do hope we shall by the measures pursuing so weaken their party that most will abandon them, and they will not be able to make head with any great body, and the salutary measures prove the best conquest. Should their behavior be otherwise we shall deal with them accordingly. We have several prisoners, amongst whom are Col. Fletchall, Capt. Richard Pearis, Capt. Shuburg, and several others of the first magnitude. By the capture of Col. Fletchall (who was hid in a cave, and taken by Col. Thomson and rangers, and the volunteer companies who were sent out on that and some other service) papers have fallen into my hands which the Council of Safety will be glad to see, but which I cannot venture to send by this conveyance; but shall transmit by the officer of the guard, with the prisoners, which I intend to dispatch to-morrow. Our army is about three thousand of different corps, viz: my own regiment, Col. Thomson's, and volunteer light horse. Col. Thomas, Col. Neel, Col. Polk and Lieut. Col. Martin of the North Carolina regiment, upon the continental establishment, who voluntarily stepped out on this occasion, as did Col. Thos. Polk, and say if you have occasion for their services, they are ready to go to Charlestown when called upon. I conceive when we are all in conjunction we shall muster between four and five thousand men and hope we may be at liberty to afford you any aid you may have occasion for. It will take time to settle this disturbed part in peace, which is now quite disjointed. When I write you again, which shall be as often as distance and circumstances will admit, the omission of which for the time past craves your indulgence as I have been marching from place to place, &c., and waiting the return of express, has occasioned that remissness. Draughts on Congress and new Council of Safety have been received for larger sums, which we have been obliged to draw, paying the lesser sums and husbanding it in the best manner to keep our credit good. If a small supply could come safe, it would be acceptable, but just now I don't think of a proper channel. The article power is well considered, and I shall know where to send if we want the additional numbers, I have made each portion small—but possibly may do. This minute, while I am writing, Capts. Plumer and Smith with thirty men surrender themselves and arms. All as yet goes on well, and hope, by Divine assistance, the Company may answer every good intention (if the inclemency of the season does not impede us), as our troops are illy provided, but well fed. The more minute circumstances you will suffer me to omit.

And believe me to be the servant of my country,

and the honor of being, sir,

your obedient humble servant,

RICH'D. RICHARDSON.

COL. RICHARDSON TO MR. LAURENS.

[Original MS.]

CAMP RABORN'S CREEK, HOLLINGSWORTH'S MILL,
Branch of Reedy River, Dec. 22d, 1775.

SIR:—When I wrote last, by my son, with prisoners, I thought to let you hear from us before now, but constant marching, and multiplicity of cares and business have prevented, and the more so, as I had not such things as I could wish to acquaint you with; but now, as we have got to the very extremity of the roads north-westward, take the liberty to inform you, that on Saturday last, the 16th instant, we were joined by Col. Rutherford, of Rowan, and Col. Graham, of Tryon counties, in North Carolina, with about five hundred men, who, unmasked, stepped forth, hearing of the commotions in this Province, to give their aid in the common cause. Col. Martin and Col. Polk I informed you of before, and on Wednesday, the 20th inst., I was joined by Maj. Andrew Williamson, Capt. Hammond, and a small party of Col. Bull's regiment, amounting in the whole to about eight hundred, so that our army is now formidable, between four and five thousand—a number most desirable to view—though we have had no occasion for more than my own regiment to have done the business. Notwithstanding, the number has a good effect, strikes terror, and shows what can be done on occasion—and, upon the whole, it may prove a happy event—we have been successful in disarming most of this unhappy people; they are coming in with fear and trembling, giving up their arms, with a sensible contrition for the errors they have been guilty of. The spirit of discord being much abated, the most of the Captains have come in, and good part of the companies under them. I use every method in my power for the honor of the Colonies, and the salutary and peaceable establishment of tranquility in these distracted parts. There is still a camp which we cannot yet come up with, consisting of the principal aggressors, which were, by best information, camped on the Cherokee land. I detached yesterday about thirteen hundred horse and foot, about an equal number, under the command of Cols. Thomson, Martin, Rutherford, Neel, Polk, Lyles, Major Williamson, and others, commanding all volunteers, which, I flatter myself, will render us a good account, as I don't expect them in till to-morrow, or perhaps some days hence. We made use of wagon horses, and all we could muster on this service. They have had expectations of the Indians joining them, but by a letter from Mr. Wilkinson

to Major Williamson, they will be disappointed in that, as he says all are peaceable there, and the Indians well satisfied, and say the Saluda people are devils, &c.; the letter is dated the 17th December, 1775, &c. We have at times got small parts of the ammunition they got, and delivered with their arms; and yesterday two barrels, say fifty pounds, and have a slight information of some more. I shall, while I stay, do every thing I can for the good of my country, but the winter is advanced, the men, from their precipitate collecting and marching, illy provided, no tents, shoes wore out, and badly clothed, make it very difficult to keep them here. If they should break off abruptly, it might have a very bad effect; and as all the different corps, from like circumstances, are in the same situation, I shall, therefore, crave your permission to discharge the North Carolinians, to make their way from hence through the upper parts by the Indian line to their own colony, which will scour that part, and Cols. Neel and Thomson through a middle direction to their different quarters; Maj. Williamson's may be best concerted. Had I forces to garrison a fort, it might be proper to establish one, but the militia will not be prevailed on, I doubt, to stay, but hope, upon the whole, the spirit of discord will so far subside, that they will hardly raise any more commotions, and the rather, as the plans I have said. If our present expedition should fail that is now detached, we shall yet have these principals, as money will often accomplish what force cannot. We have many prisoners, yet think we shall not trouble you with many of them, as they are not of the first class, but make the best use of them we can after hearing harmony prevails amongst the officers of every different corps, and I could wish you had an opportunity of reviewing the whole. By the time I receive your answer in return, I conceive there will be very little left in the compass of my power. You may rely upon my best endeavors in the interim, and shall then hope for your permission to retire to my rest, and in their different districts to dismiss my own, and other regiments. After curbing this same spirit, which prevailed greatly on the north of Wateree river and Lynche's creek, and parts high up in that quarter, as we are fully informed since out, was it possible to keep the troops, I would quell or keep in awe, or win by fair means all parts of this Province; but must stop, when I think it well with us, least it should be worse. A representation of this, you will please to make to the Council of Safety, and guess at what I don't say.

I have the honor to be,

With esteem, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

RICH'D. RICHARDSON.

P. S. This minute since, or while I was writing my name, a messenger from Col. Thomson and the detachments arrived with the agreeable account, that they had surprised and taken the camp of Cunningham, &c., and taken the greatest part prisoners, with all their ammunition, guns, wagons, and utensils. P. Cunningham had escaped, and some principals, but the most are taken, &c. I hasten the messenger express, to you, and desire you will send him back as quick as possible, with a state of affairs in Charles Town, and such orders as you may think proper.

I am, as before,

Your most obedient,

R. R.

COL. RICHARDSON TO MR. LAURENS.

[Original MS.]

CAMP LIBERTY HILL, Dec. 16th, 1775.

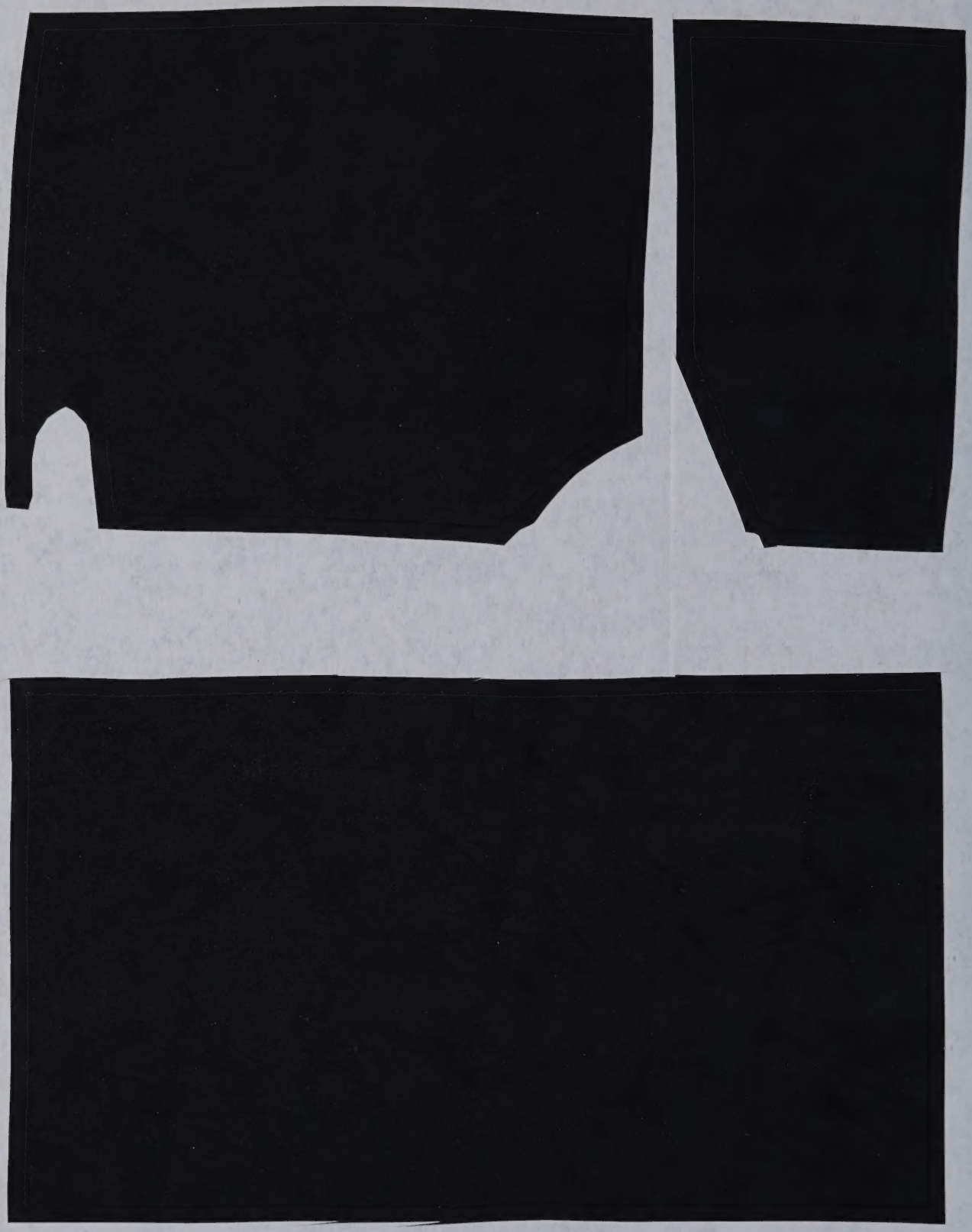
SIR:—I herewith send you the persons of Col. Thos. Fletchall, Capt. Richard Pearis, Capt. Jacob Fry, Capt. George Shuburg, John McWilliams, Philip Wells, James Davis, Capt. McDavid, alias McDade, and Joseph Alexander. These being all adjudged by the officers and people here to be offenders of such a nature that from the active part they have taken, it would be dangerous for me (however innocent they may appear before you) to let either of them go; they are under guard of my son, who, from his camp dishabille, will appear before you. I have nothing particular since my last. These unhappy people are in a great panic, still flying before us, and it is told that young Pearis and others have gone to bring the Indians down, in person; if it should be the case, it could not be in a better time, and if any such intentions, should be glad the whole would come while we are here. I shall use every measure in my power that appears to be salutary, but some things distress me much that I want advice upon, and for which I shall write you by express which may be down before this. Had I no fears for Charles Town, we could command every thing here. Though Cunningham, Robertson, and others, of the first class are fled, they may yet come in our way; should they, you will soon be acquainted with it.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

RICH'D. RICHARDSON.

P. S. Excuse paper, it being now very scarce.



N.C. Cls

[redacted]

EXTRACT FROM THE ORDERLY BOOK OF CHAS. LINING.

[Copy from the Original.]

ORDERS BY MAJOR PINCKNEY.

December 28th, 1775.

The Captains and Commanders of Companies and detachments are desired to put their men under stoppages in order to purchase their knapsacks; every detachment they are sent upon proves how much they are wanted. They are likewise desired to put their men under stoppages to procure them their full complement of necessaries. The very ample pay the Colony allows was never intended to be dissipated in drunkenness and rioting, as it too often most shamefully is, but was granted with a view to enable the men to procure such conveniences as were proper for their comfortable subsistence while in its service, and if they were frugal, to enable them to carry home something handsome after the service was over.

The Quarter-Master is to examine all the chimneys in the houses where the officers and men are quartered, and see that they are properly swept. He will likewise take care that the wagoners bring in a sufficient quantity of firewood, both to quarters and camp. The burning of fence rails is absolutely forbid, and those who shall be guilty of this practice may depend on being punished. The Major hopes that the sentence of the Court Martial respecting Cheshire for killing a fowl belonging to one of the neighbors will be sufficient to deter all others from offending in like manner. The soldiers should look upon themselves as

the guardians of the property of the inhabitants of this Colony, and should deem it an infamous breach of the trust reposed in them to destroy, or take away what they are bound to protect. The disgraceful punishment to be this day inflicted on Elmey for meanly skulking from his duty when ordered on this detachment, will convince the soldiers that the officers are determined to set a mark on every scoundrel who shall discover any backwardness in going upon any expedition on which he may be ordered. In this glorious contest, in which we are engaged for every thing that is dear to man, it is astonishing that there could be found a wretch so dastardly as to abscond when his fellow-soldiers were going upon a detachment which possibly might have been dangerous. Notwithstanding this shameful conduct of Elmey's, it is with the greatest satisfaction that the Major takes this opportunity to declare that he is highly pleased with the diligence and behavior of the men in general, since they have been on this detachment, and he begs leave to assure them that the continuance of such conduct will highly endear them to the Council of Safety and people of this Colony, and procure them the most glorious of all characters—that of being esteemed good soldiers. Captains Scott and Saunders are to go to town early to-morrow morning to attend the General Court Martial as members; Captain Pinckney is to attend it as Judge Advocate, and the Quarter-Master as an evidence.

Capt. Cattell, Captain of the day; Lieut. Vanderhorst, officer of the quarter guard to-morrow.

December 29th.

Any soldier who shall bring any rum into camp shall be punished; so shall that soldier be who shall purchase rum either in or out of camp, while on this detachment. Every soldier who shall absent himself from his hut or quarters after retreat beating in the evening, shall also be punished.

Notwithstanding the repeated injunctions against the purchasing of rum and spirituous liquors which have been given, three soldiers had the effrontery last night to go to the Still House, and there procure a considerable quantity of that liquor, but being detected, they had the dishonesty to steal Mr. Scott's canoe and take it away. The Major has, however, taken such measures that it will be impossible for them to escape. When a soldier once shows so great a contempt of discipline as to break through the orders that are issued, he is easily led on to commit the greatest offences. Theft has been the consequence of the insatiable desire of those three soldiers after that pernicious forbidden liquor, and when such an ill use is made of the indulgence of the Colony in

allowing rum to those who have been upon fatigue, there is little encouragement to continue it. But the Major will not punish the innocent on account of the guilty; at the same time he positively declares that no soldier shall infringe the orders relating to rum, need expect any favor or hope for any pardon from him.

Lieut. Mouett, officer of the quarter guard to-day, vice, Lieut. Vanderhorst, sick.

MR. HABERSHAM TO MR. DRAYTON.

[Original MS.]

NEW YEARS DAY, 1776.

To the Honorable William Henry Drayton:

DEAR SIR:—Mr. Will delivered me your letter and I have told him he may call on me for either money or any assistance in my power to give him on the present occasion. He tells me he has met with some success already. Spencer, a Lieutenant in the Artillery, has recruited a number of men, among whom are several sailors, I dare say fifteen or sixteen. I suppose other men in their room would answer his purpose. I just give you the hint.

I am, sir, wishing you many and happy returns of the day,

Your most obedient servant,

JOSEPH HABERSHAM.

COL. RICHARDSON TO HON. H. LAURENS.

[Original MS.]

CONGAREES, Jan. 2, 1776.

SIR:—In my last I informed you of the detachments I had sent out, and in a postscript, of my intelligence of success. Our people surrounded their camp by daylight in the morning after a long march of near twenty-five miles, and lying on their arms till day, they then attacked and took about one hundred and thirty prisoners, with baggage, arms, ammunition, &c., which completed the conquest of that flying party which had till then kept out of reach. They were encamped at a convenient place called the Brake of Canes on the Cherokee land; Patrick

Cunningham escaped on a horse bare backed (and they say without breeches) telling every man to shift for himself. None of our men were killed or wounded, except the son of Col. T. Polk, a fine youth, was shot through the shoulder, and was in great danger. Some five or six of the other party, I am told, were killed; happily the men were restrained or every man had died. The next day they returned to camp, the snow set in, and continued for thirty hours without intermission, which, with the hardship and fatigue the men had suffered before made them very uneasy, and seeing no more could be done they grew so uneasy it was out of my power to keep the troops together any longer. I, therefore, on Christmas-day dismissed the North Carolina troops, viz: Col. Rutherford, Col. Graham, Col. Martin and Col. Polk to all of whom, in behalf of my country, I returned my cordial and hearty thanks, &c.; the same day, Colonels Neel and Thomas, and Major Williamson with proper orders to pursue such measures in their different marches, as I was convinced would be necessary for the public service. I then as I found the service pretty well done and no possibility of detaining the men longer, the snow then lying on the earth in the smoothest places at least fifteen inches deep (most say two feet) I marched in the best manner we could downward. Eight days we never set foot on the earth or had a place to lie down, till we had spaded or grabbled away the snow, from which circumstance, many are frost bitten, some very badly; and on the third day a heavy cold rain fell, together with sleet; and melted the snow and filled every creek and river with a deluge of water; but with all these difficulties we reached this place yesterday with the prisoners, whom we have used in the best manner we could—about ten Captains and a hundred and twenty of the most mischievous men (some of whom will make good soldiers); all the powder; Ninety-six and New Camp men. We retook seven kegs of gun-powder, six of which I delivered to Maj. Williamson to be sent to Mr. Wilkinson for the Cherokees; many arms have been delivered up, and I caused the men to sign an instrument of writing, which they did willingly with fear and trembling, by which they forfeit their estates, real and personal, if they ever take up arms against, or disquiet the peace and tranquility of the good people of this colony again, and to assist them if they are ever called upon. The arms taken by Maj. Williamson and those from that quarter I ordered to be stored at Fort Charlotte, which he (the Major) is to see done. Those taken by the upper regiments are to be sent down, and many lodged in the hands of the Committees to be sent to Mr. Chesnut's Store at the Congarees, and about two hundred stand I have ordered to Camden, &c. I have drawn orders in amount, three thousand six hun-

dred dollars, (29, 6, 11,) a list of which I transmit inclosed, which I beg you will please to honor. The prisoners I send in a boat from this place to Wilson's Ferry, under the command and guard of Capt. Thomas Sumter, who on this expedition I constituted Adjutant-General, who has behaved very well and has been to me and the cause, of extra service; from thence Col. Thomson with the Rangers and others under him will guard them to Charleston, who, with Major Mayson and officers under them have been obliging in behavior and alert in service, and must recommend them to your particular notice; and I must say through the whole I have been extremely happy in the mutual harmony which has subsisted. Maj. Joseph Kershaw, whom I constituted Major of the Brigades, has been more than commonly serviceable, as he has been Major, Commissary-General, Treasurer, and every thing to help the service; and thus, sir, I have been obliged to end this campaign before I received orders, as the last Express (Newton) is not yet returned, and am happy when I say and think it has answered every desire, wish or expectation. The people are now more convinced than ever of their being wrong. The lenitive measures have had a good effect; the spirit and power is gone from them and I am sure (if not interrupted by designing men on our side) that country, which I had it in my power to lay waste (and which the people expected), will be happy, and peace and tranquility take place of ruin and discord—a wished for event. On the reverse, had I burnt, plundered and destroyed and laid waste, seizing on private property, then thousands of women and children must have been left to perish—a thought shocking to humanity. I am informed Maj. Williamson has sent an immediate detail of occurrences from Raborn's Creek of the 23rd or 24th ult. to the Council of Safety which I must ask pardon for not doing sooner, as I then was and till within two hours have been too much incumbered to do. I think if that gentleman wrote to the Council of Safety while under my wing, which was only just at that juncture (two days) he might have let me know it, but hope he has not omitted his own merit, which I should always take care to give him. I shall refer you to Col. Thomson and Maj. Mayson for further particulars, as I am still broke in upon every line. You will, therefore, please to present my duty and service to the Council of Safety (or Provincial Congress, for I am at a loss when they meet). I shall lay my imperfect journals before them, whenever they are pleased to call on me, or at some other time. Till when, give me leave, of having the honor, to be, sir,

Your most obedient humble servt.,

RICH'D. RICHARDSON.

MR. RICHARDSON TO THE COUNCIL OF SAFETY.

[Original MS.]

The Honorable the Council of Safety.

CONGAREES, January 2d, 1776.

GENTLEMEN:—By Col. Thomson of the rangers, you will receive, if nothing happens, the prisoners, we thought proper to detain, which, upon examination, find were the most leading and active, in taking the powder at Ninety-Six, and the late camp. They were long out before taken, and have been some time since in durance, from which circumstances they of course will make but a despicable appearance, adding also, that the spirit of humility and contrition takes place of the opposite character. I shall say but little now, as I wrote so fully yesterday by express. I am at a loss to know how to recommend my brother Colonel, will only say his behaviour has been as becomes him, and deserves your notice. My hurry in getting off the people provisions, &c., obliges me to desist, and only add that

I am, gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

RICH'D. RICHARDSON.

PRISONERS SENT TO CHARLES TOWN BY COL. RICHARDSON.

[Original MS.]

1. Col. Fletchall.
2. John Mayfield, Ninety-Six, Militia Captain.
3. Benj. Wofford, Militia Captain.
4. R'd. Pearis, Scopholite Captain, Ninety-Six.
5. Math. Floyd, Ninety-Six, Militia Captain.
6. Dav. George, Militia Captain.
7. Pat. McDade.
8. Wm. Hunt, Scopholite Captain, Ninety-Six, Mulatto.
9. Geo. Zuber, Ninety-Six, Militia Captain, said to murder a prisoner.
10. Jacob Fry, Scopholite Captain, Ninety-Six.
11. Capt. Jones, Scopholite Captain, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake, Colored, Powder Man.
12. Capt. Pearis, Scopholite Adjutant, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake.

13. Capt. Bowman, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake, Powder Man, Militia Captain.
14. Capt. Harvey, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake, Powder Man, Militia Captain.
15. Capt. Clery, Scopholite Captain, Ninety-Six.
16. Capt. Lindley, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake, Militia Captain.
17. Capt York, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake, Powder Man, Militia Captain, Press Master General, deemed a bad man by both parties, to be delivered by Maj. Williamson.
18. D'd. Cunningham, deemed a bad man by both parties, to be delivered by Maj. Williamson.
19. Geo. Nealey, Commissary General, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake, Powder Man.
20. Thomas Combs, Cane Brake, Powder Man.
21. Thomas Tomlin, " "
22. Jeremiah Ward, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake, Powder Man, and a very bad man.
23. Henry Green, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake, Powder Man, Militia Captain.
24. Sam. Proctor, Cane Brake, Powder Man, Militia Captain.
25. John Norris, Cane Brake, Powder Man.
26. Benj. Stone, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake, Powder Man.
27. John Davies, Cane Brake, Powder Man.
28. Dav'd. Reese, " "
29. Thomas Carter, " "
30. James Derumple, " "
31. James McGill, " "
32. Wm. Johnston, " "
33. Thomas Wisdom, Cane Brake, Powder Man, Lieut. in the Militia, and an extreme active man.
34. Abra'm. Nabors, Cane Brake, Powder Man.
35. Isaac Nabors, " "
36. Geo. Carter, " "
37. Thos. Gill, " "
38. Wm. Stone, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake, Powder Man.
39. Rob't. Proctor, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake, Powder Man, a very bad man.
40. Caleb Stone, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake, Powder Man.
41. James Carter, Cane Brake, Powder Man.
42. Rob't. Grey, " "
43. Capt. Hiburn, an active man.

44. Elisha Watson, Cane Brake.
45. John Helms, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake.
46. Thomas Alison, " "
47. Wm. Matthews, " "
48. Dav'd. Alison, " "
49. Wm. Alison, " "
50. Rob't. Wood, Cane Brake.
51. John Miller, Ninety-Six, sent from Ninety-Six.
52. Henry Strum, Ninety-Six.
53. Tho. Nevills, Cane Brake.
54. Christ'r. Reuben, "
55. Robin Brown, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake, Powder Man.
56. John Reid, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake.
57. James Reid, " "
58. Adam Frelick, Ninety-Six.
59. Fred. Bagwell, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake.
60. John Wright. " "
61. James Johnston, " "
62. James Camell, " "
63. Wm. Cox, Cane Brake.
64. Fred. Reuben, "
65. Thomas Good, "
66. Moses Casey, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake.
67. Adam Purdue, " "
68. John Casey, " "
69. Jesse Casey, Cane Brake.
70. John Rigdell, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake.
71. John Rigdell, jun., " "
72. Emanuel Miller, went from Ninety-Six to join the opposite party.
73. Henry Attolph, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake, Lieut. Major.
74. John Meek, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake.
75. James Mills, " "
76. Francis Regan, " "
77. Wm. Burrows, " "
78. Benj. Stone.
79. Joshua Niblet, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake.
80. Joshua Fowler, " "
81. Rich'd. Fowler, " "
82. Sam. Harris, " "
83. John Goff, " "
84. Rob't. Westmorland, " "

85. Tho. Welch, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake.
86. Holl'y. Power, " "
87. Hugh Abernathy, " "
88. Dav'd. Reese, mentioned before.
89. Jacob Wittherow, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake.
90. John Wittherow, " "
91. Chris. Tongues, Cane Brake.
92. John Burrows, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake.
93. Hen. Centerfitts, Ninety-Six.
94. Wm. Mills, "
95. Henry Citeman, a very bad man.
96. Wm. Caldwell, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake.
97. And. Aventer, " "
98. Abel Bowling, " "
99. Owen Reid, "
100. Dennis McCarty, Ninety-Six, Powder Man.
101. Tho. Rogers, Cane Brake.
102. Harmon Dildine, "
103. Isaac Evans, mentioned.
104. Benj. Gregory, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake.
105. Jos. Turner, " "
106. James Nicholl, Cane Brake.
107. Edw'd. Lang, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake.
108. James Wright, " "
109. John Evans, Cane Brake.
110. John Welch, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake.
111. Wm. Elliott, " "
112. Leon'd. Nix, Cane Brake.
113. Wm. Payne, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake.
114. Henry Goff, " "
115. Dav'd. Nielson, " "
116. John Morgan, Cane Brake.
117. Fred. Hartwell, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake.
118. Dan. Allen, Cane Brake, lame.
119. Henry Counts, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake.
120. Elisha Robinson, " "
121. James Burgess, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake, an old man, but bloody minded.
122. Thomas Gill, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake.
123. Holly Goff, died on the road.
124. John Tominson, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake.

125. Hugh Nealey, Ninety-Six, but surrendered himself to Col. Richardson.
126. Witnall Warner, supposed to rob Mr. Pendleton's lodgings at Ninety-Six.
127. Wm. Watson, harmless man, but at the Cane Brake.
128. Chris'r. Casey, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake.
129. John M. Williams, the machine maker to set fire to the Ninety-Six Fort.
130. Jos. Alexander, Ninety-Six, Cane Brake.
131. James Davies, " "
132. Phil. Wells, Ninety-Six.
133. Jacob Stack, "
134. Dan. Stagner, "
135. Capt. Nealey Carghill, and
136. Capt. Edghill, one sick, but both to be delivered up 1st February.

CAPT. SHERMAN TO MR. DRAYTON.

[Original MS.]

SAVANNAH, Jan. 7, 1776.

SIR:—This comes to acquaint you of my proceedings at this present time.

Sir, I have sixteen men now under my orders—twelve of them good seamen and carpenters. I only await your orders to proceed, as I am afraid to go. There are four men-of-war at Coxspur, and it is dangerous to go by water, but I will run all risk after I hear from you. I expected to be favored with a few lines from you for my further instructions, but have had not one line from you.

Sir, till I hear, I remain your

obedient humble servant to command,

THOS. SHERMAN.

P. S.—I am in great hopes of eight or ten more men in one or two days.

MOSES KIRKLAND TO HENRY LAURENS.

[From a letter published by order of Congress.]

To the Honourable Henry Learance, Esqr and presedent of the Counsel of Safety at Charles Town in South Carolina

MAY IT PLESE YOUR HONOUR—To permit me Leave To make my excuse to you and the other Gentlemen for my not Coming out of the Tamar manawar to your House the night that you wase so good as to send Mr William Tucker aboard in your Boat with a promis from you and Mr Cannon and Locock That I should be portected in your House and that my Proposials to the Congress should be conuaid By you Gentle to them which you Did not Dout would Be agread to: now those porposials ware so good: I Cant Butt with Shame ness of face make my Excuse for not Excepting of Them: the reason wase this which I Hope Mr Tucker acquanted you with it wase Late In the night when he Came a board Captain Thornsbery and Ennis boath ware in the Cabin with me and new of my Goyn upon Deck and as I Told Mr. Tucker it wase not posable for us to Go of the Ship with out been fired at and Brought to and If I went Down and acquanted them ho he wase and What he Come aboard for they or the Governer Would have him Confine a bourd and as he Came on purpose to Serve me and his cuntrey, I would Chouse to Suffer Before he should on my a Count, and he had nothing from under are Gentlemun Hand to ashore me any purtection I Told him at parting If you Gentleman would Send me any a shoreanc from under Hand I would Com out the first opportunity Butt I Receve none and Sum Days after Captain Thornsbery told me he wase Threaten By you in a letter to Him for Keeping a traator to his Cuntrey abord the Berer of Said Letter Told me you Had the Three young men Ketck that Came to assist me Town and that you had the Six Horses Sold and the money putt In the Hands of the Counsel of Safety: which alarmed me afrish and made me to thinck I had no Chanch But to Compli With the Threats sent me By Mr Tucker If I Did not Com out that night: Which Wase I Should not Be Suffered to Live in any part of America and I have Been Ever Since a striving to Gitt to Ingland to putt my Son to School and waue thes Troubels as I had Determed not to Lift up arms on any Side or Elce I would not Sufferd my House and Plantation to been plunderd Butt my Relations and Best frinds in the Government wase that Side Which made me willing to Suffer wrong and putt up with any Loss then I should Been the Means of Sheding there blood. pray Sir Giue

me Leaue to acquant your Honour also that whin I Gott a bord of the Tamar I Had not in Cash the value of Two Dollers and the Child and I Butt one Bare Sute of Close apeac I was a blige Boath to Do and Say Sumthing Pleseing to The Deffarent Governers as I had noway to Gitt my pasage Butt By them nor even to Live Whin I gott there with out thire Letters of Recommendation: Butt I am now Thirrely Con uinced it wase Best Bouth for me and the Cause of America that I did not Gitt there for I did use al the Endeavours that wase in my power to Gitt thare Butt the Hand of Providence Did preuail agenst me and hath Conuincced me that it is Duly assisting the American Cause wherefore I would not willingly Be Counted any Long nenemy to it Wherefore: I Humbly Beg the fuivor of you to move to the Counsel of Safety to Haue me Remove from Hear Before them as I may haue the pleshor To haue a hearing Before them as I Cant Butt haue hopes that when thay Com to Be made acquantd With al my Conduct thay will have pitty on me and Grant me Such Release as they in thire Wisdom shall se Best I am willing to giue al the Security in my power for my Good Behauiour I have Rote to Colonal Thomson and to Mr. Cannon to Be my Security for my Traviling from here on my perrole of Honour to your house at Charles town on my Receiveing asurtifficate from you for that porpose I shall send my Little Son to Mr Cannon in the first uessel that fails which will be in a fue Day Time and you may depend on my Trauiling through the Cuntry of Being al the Seruis to to the Cause I Can as I am now Conuince of the Stranth of America So pray Sir fail not In Grantting my Portion and I shal Be in Duty Bound to Eeur pray for you:

And am with Dew Respect
may it plese your Honnor
Your Honour mosst obedient
And Verry Humble Ser't
MOSES KIRKLAND.

11th Janury 1776 at the Gael of phiadelphia.

The above is a true copy, taken from the Original Letter written by Moses Kirkland's own hand and sent to Col. Laurens, Charles Town, March 20, 1776. Certified by

PETER TIMOTHY, *Secretary to the Congress.*

1. Col. Fletchall
2. Capt John Mayfield, Ninety-Six
3. Capt. Benj. Wofford
4. R'd Pearis, Scophalite Captain Ninety-Six
5. Capt Math. Floyd, Militia
6. Capt. George Day "
7. Capt. Pat. MdDade
8. Capt. Wm. Hunt, Scophalite, Mulatto, Ninety-Six
9. Capt Geo. Zuber, 96, said to murder a Prisoner
10. " Jacob Fry, Scophalite, 96
11. " Wm. Jones " colored 96 Cane Brake, powder man
12. Capt Robt. Pearis-Scophalite Adjutant, Cane Brake, 96
13 " Bowman, 96 Cane Brake, powder man, militia
14 " Harvey - same
15 " Clery Scophalite, 96
16." Lindley 96 Cane Brake, militia
17." York, 96, C.B. powder man mil.
18. D'd. Cunningham, deemed a bad man by both parties, to be be delivered by Maj. Williamson
19. Geo. Nealey, Commisary Gen., 96 C.B., powder man
20. Thomas Combs, C.B., powder man
21. Thomas Tomlin " "
22. Jeremiah Ward, " 96 " very bad man
23. Capt. Henry Green, 96 C.B. p.m. mil.
24. Capt. Sam. Proctor, " " "
25. John Norris, " "
26. Benj. Stone, 96 " "
27. John Davies, " "
28. Dav'd Reese " "
29. Thomas Carter " "
30. James Derumple " "
31. James McGill " "
32. Wm. Johnston " "
33. Thomas Wisdom.Lt mil. " " extreme active man
34. Abra'm Nabors, C.B. powder man
35. Isaac Nabors, " "
36. Geo. Carter, " "
37. Thos. Gill, " "
38. Wm. Stone, 96 " "
39. Rob't Proctor,96 " " very bad man
40. Caleb Stone, " " "
41. James Carter, " "
42. Rob't Grey, " "
43. Capt. Jno. Hilburn, an active man
44. Elisha Watson, C.B.
45, John Helms, 96 C.B.
46. Thomas Allen " "
47. Wm. Matthews " "
48. Dav'd Allison " "
49. Wm. Alison " "
50. Rob't Wood "
51. John Miller, sent from 96
52. Henry Strum, 96
53. Tho. Neville, C.B.
54. Christ'r Reuben, C.B.
55. Robin Brown, 96, C.B., p.m.
56. John Reid, " "
57. James Reid, " "
58. Adam Frelick, 96
59. Fred. Bagwell, " C.B.
60. John Wright, " "
61. James Johnson, " "
62. James Camel, " "
63. Wm. Cox, "
64. Fred Reuben, "
65. Thomas Good, "
66. Moses Casey, " "
67. Adam Purdue " "
68. John Casey, " "
69. Jesse Casey, "
70. John Rigdell, " "
71. John Rigdell Jr." "
72. Edmund Miller, went from 96 to join opposite pty.
73. Henry Attolph, 96, C.B., Lt. Major
74. John Meek, " "
75. James Mills, " "
76. Francis Regin, " "
77. Wm. Burrows, " "
78. Benj. Stone
79. Joshua Niblet " "
80. Joshua Fowler " "
81. Rich'd Fowler " "
82. Sam Harris " "
83. John Goff. " "
84. Rob't Westmorland" "
85. Tho. Welch " "
86. Holl'y Power " " (name sic?)
87. Hugh Abernathy " "
88. Dav'd Reese, ment. above
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99. Owen Reid "
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101. Tho. Rogers "
102. Harmon Dildine "
103. Isaac Evans, mentioned
104. Benj. Gregory 96, C.B.
105. Jos. Turner " "
106. James Nicholl "
107. Edw'd Langl " "
108. James Wrigh " "
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45, John Helms, 96 C.B.
46. Thomas Allen " "
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52. Henry Strum, 96
53. Tho. Neville, C.B.
54. Christ'r Reuben, 96 C.B.
55. Robin Brown, 96, C.B., p.m.
56. John Reid, " "
57. James Reid, " "
58. Adam Frelick, 96
59. Fred. Bagwell, " C.B.
60. John Wright, " "
61. James Johnson, " "
62. James Camel, " "
63. Wm. Cox, "
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101. Tho. Rogers "
102. Harmon Dildine "
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105. Jos. Turner " "
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22. Jeremiah Ward, " 96 " very bad man
23. Capt. Henry Green, 96 C.B. p.m. mil.
24. Capt. Sam. Proctor, " " "
25. Benj. Stone, 96 C.B. mil "
26. John Davies, 96 " "
27. John Davi " "
28. Day'd Reese " "
29. Thomas Carter " "
30. James Dermple " "
31. James McGill " "
32. Wm. Johnston " "
33. Thomas Wadon, Lt mil. " "
Regular active man
34. Abr'm Nabors, C.B. powder man
35. Isaac Nabors, " "
36. Geo. Carter, " "
37. Thos. Gill, " "
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54. Robin Brown, 96, C.B., p.m.
55. John Reid, " "
56. James Reid, " "
57. Adam Prellok, 96
58. Fred. Pagwell, " C.B.
59. John Wright, " "
60. James Johnson, " "
61. James Quasl, " "
62. Wm. Cox, " "
63. Fred Reuben, " "
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82. John Goff, " "
83. Rob't Westmorland " "
84. Jno. Welch " " (name sick?)
85. Holl'y Power " "
86. Hugh Abernathy " "
87. Day'd Reese, ment. above
88. Jacob Wittenrow, 96, C.B.
89. John Wittenrow " "
90. Chris. Tongas " "
91. John Barrows " "
92. Jean. Center Frets, " (name sick?)
93. Wm. Mills " "
94. Henry Citeman, a very bad man
95. Wm. Caldwell, 96, C.B.
96. And. Averter " "
97. Abel Melling " "
98. Owen Reid " "
99. Dennis McCarty, " p.m.
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NOTE: This is copied from pages 249-253 of Documentary History of the American Revolution by Robert Wilson Gibbes, M.D. (1855-Vol. 1) Gibbes claimed he copied it verbatim from Col. Richard Richardson's own list.

I took the liberty of abbreviating Ninety-Six, Cane Brake, and powder man to save space. It appears that there are duplications in his list, and there certainly are mis-spellings of names, in a few cases pretty odd.

ungranted lands legally open to sale; its disposal by auction after due notice and advertisement at a price to be determined by the quality of the land sold, but with a sixpence per acre minimum. All land sold was subject to an increased annual quit rent of one halfpenny sterling per acre and to reservation by the Crown of all mines of gold, silver, and precious stones.

This plan was disliked even by the royal officials in the provinces. They realized the impossibility of enforcing it in the settled areas. It was also seen that the government could not enforce this plan in the back country because of its inability to prevent illegal purchases from the tribes. Finally the steady westward push of the land-hungry frontiersmen could not be checked by royal orders or parliamentary statutes.[31]

The British Indian department made a brave but futile attempt to prevent illegal land purchases in the south. In 1768 at the treaty of Hard Labor, Stuart was compelled to refuse permission for the cession of a tract of land twelve miles square to Alexander Cameron, his deputy among the Cherokees. The Indians made this cession for the benefit of one of Cameron's half-breed sons. In 1769 Richard Pearis and Jacob Hite secured a large cession from the Cherokee nation—Pearis under pretense of holding said cession for a son by an Indian mother and Hite by fraudulent letters to Stuart and the Governor of Virginia. The Indians insisted that these purchases had been secured in an illegal manner. At the same time Pearis was selling tracts in his cession to emigrants from the north.[32] On December 21, 1773, Stuart wrote:

> The cause of Richard Pearis and Jacob Hite, who illegally obtained cessions of, and seated themselves upon Indian lands beyond the established boundary, came on before the circuit court at Ninety Six last month, when judgment was given against them and they relinquished all claims or title to any lands beyond the boundary in virtue of any deed or conveyance to them from the

[31] Sioussat, *op. cit.*, 97-98; *N. Y. Col. Doc.* VIII, 410.

[32] C. O. 5, LXXIV, 42.

> Indians, which I hope will have good effect by deterring others from any such attempts in the future, *but I beg leave to observe to your Lordship that this success is owing to the existance* (sic) *of a municipal law of this province: in provinces where no such local laws exist, I should be very doubtful of success.*[33] (The italics are mine.)

In 1770 Edward Wilkinson secured a grant from the Cherokees in payment for certain debts which this tribe owed him. Wilkinson had not gone about securing this land in an underhand fashion, but was of the opinion that land cessions in payment of debts would receive the sanction of the government. He made a trip to England to obtain a ratification of the grant, but the opposition of Stuart, and the government's land policy, prevented his securing consent from the authorities.[34]

In South Carolina W. H. Drayton wished to lease fifteen square miles of the Catawba reservation for a term of years. Stuart opposed this lease because the land in this reservation had never been ceded to the King. In this he was upheld by the home government, and Dartmouth wrote him on May 5, 1773:

> The King much approves the step you took to defeat Mr. Drayton's intended views; the proposal made by that gentleman to the Council of South Carolina was highly irregular and improper and the Council have given solid testimony of their respect for and duty to the King in unanimously rejecting it.[35]

When Governor Wright of the Georgia colony secured the consent of the Board of Trade for a land cession by the Creeks and the Cherokees to liquidate their debts, Stuart was one of the chief negotiators at the treaty which was made at Augusta.

[33] C. O. 5, LXXV, 9.

[34] C. O. 5, LXXIV, 42; C. O. 5, LXXIV, 69. Enclosure in Stuart's letter of January 8, 1773. Map of the lands surveyed by Patric Calhoun, Deputy-Surveyor, December 8, 1770, for Wilkinson—also reservations of Cameron and Pearis. Stuart and Dartmouth were willing that Wilkinson should be reimbursed from the proceeds of the sale of land in the Georgia cession.

[35] C. O. 5, LXXIV, 85; also C. O. 5, LXXIV, 127.

The Creeks were not willing to make any cessions.[36] However, at the treaty which was completed on June 1, 1773, the Indians finally ceded 2,100,000 acres comprising land in Wilkes, Lincoln, Taliaferro, Green, Oglethorpe, and Elbert counties, Georgia. The Indians were discontented with their bargain and Stuart felt that this was due in part to the fact that the ammunition promised them had not been delivered promptly.[37] The traders had been expected to furnish the goods for the treaty but had failed to do so, and Stuart had been compelled to make several hasty purchases to supply at least partially the wants of the Indians.

Stuart and Governor Wright insisted that the Indians punish the murderers of the white settlers on the new purchase, and when the Creeks hesitated an embargo was placed on trade with this tribe.[38] This was effective, and by October 1774 the Creeks seemed willing to meet the British demands.

In these October negotiations Stuart discovered another illegal land deal. In this case Jonathan Bryan, of Georgia, leased an extensive tract of land from the Creeks. The land was located in East Florida. The Indians tore up the deed at the conference, although on the way home Bryan inveigled them into renewing it.[39]

In the secluded valley through which flowed the Watauga River on the western frontier of Virginia and North Carolina, a group of restless frontiersmen began the famous push which was finally to secure the western regions for the United States. When it was discovered that their land was beyond the boundaries of Virginia and on the Indian reservation, these settlers adopted a working agreement among themselves and proceeded to secure a ten-year lease from the Cherokees for the territory which they occupied. Stuart's deputy among the Cherokees, Alexander Cameron, chided one of the chiefs for

[36] C. O. 5, LXXIV, 190.
[37] C. O. 5, LXXV, 55.
[38] C. O. 5, LXXV, 173.
[39] C. O. 5, LXXVI, 29.

making this cession. The latter replied that the Indian who negotiated the lease had not been authorized to do so and was a great rogue. At the same time he confessed that he had taken his share of the goods which had been furnished by the whites.[40] In 1773, by two purchases from the Cherokees, Jacob Brown secured title to the land as far south as the mouth of Camp Creek on the Nollichucky.

On December 17, 1774, Cameron wrote Stuart that Richard Henderson and others were among the Cherokees and he suspected that they were trying to make some land purchases.[41] These preliminary negotiations culminated in the Henderson purchase of March 17, 1775, at Sycamore Shoals. By this purchase a large tract of land bounded by the Kentucky, Holston, Cumberland, and Ohio Rivers became the property of Richard Henderson and Company. Henderson was undoubtedly influenced in this purchase by an opinion supposed to be derived from the eminent British jurists Camden and Yorke to the effect that deeds made at public conferences by the Indians as sovereign nations and the *bona fide* owners of the land were valid conveyances and required no confirmation by the Crown.

This purchase aroused opposition, and protests were made by Stuart, Cameron, and the Governors of Virginia and North Carolina. Although Virginia held the Henderson deed void against the state she later considered it valid against the Cherokees.

Thus it can be seen that in spite of the best efforts of the Indian department, the land cessions continued and Stuart succeeded only in making himself unpopular on the frontier. Arthur Campbell, one of the prominent leaders of Fincastle county, accused Stuart of favoring the Indians in all controversies.[42]

[40] C. O. 5, LXXV, 209.
[41] C. O. 5, LXXVI, 41. Patrick Henry and others had also been involved in an attempt to purchase Cherokee territories, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers, I*, 288-89; 303-304.
[42] C. O. 5, LXXV, 255.

Cameron, writing to Stuart later, had the following to say about the conduct of the frontiersmen:

> The behavior of the Virginians toward the Indians deserved from them the treatment which they commonly return for ill usage and they certainly would have got it had I not at all times agreeable to your instructions done everything to prevent it. . . . . I am certain that if the Indians committed half the irregularities the Virginians did since the conclusion of the last war, they would have been at war with them long ere now.[43]

On February 23, 1775, Stuart received word from Cameron that Pearis was having his land surveyed with the assistance of some officials from South Carolina.[44]

Stuart became convinced that the only solution of the difficulty was the interposition of Parliament. On January 4, 1773, he wrote Dartmouth suggesting that a law by Parliament would be the only effective way for controlling the situation.[45] In the letter of January 3, 1775, in which Stuart dealt with the illegal cession to Jonathan Bryan, he again suggested the necessity for a law to remedy a situation which was endangering the peace of all the colonies. Dartmouth's comment on Stuart's suggestion as to a law to prevent settlement beyond the Indian line is rather significant:

> The want of a proper law in all the colonies for preventing settlement in the Indian lands is much to be lamented; and the necessity of such a law has been often represented. None of the assemblies, except that of South Carolina, have been prevailed upon to adopt such a measure, and the present is not a time for introducing a general regulation by the authority which is competent to give it in all the colonies.[46]

A new wave of land speculation in 1773 saw the organization of the Illinois Land Company, which was composed chiefly of Philadelphians. This company, relying on the Camden-

[43]C. O. 5, LXXV, 261.
[44]C. O. 5, LXXVI, 87.
[45]C. O. 5, LXXIV, 19.
[46]C. O. 5, LXXVI, 15.

Yorke decision, made extensive purchases on the Illinois River and south of Kaskaskia on the Ohio. Similarly, the Wabash Company purchased tracts on the Wabash River. These grants were annulled by the British government, but showed very clearly what difficulties would face the authorities in trying to uphold an imperial land policy.[47]

There were such disputes as the Mohawk claim at Canajoharie, which was not finally settled until 1797,[48] and the illegal settlements in the Wyoming country by emigrants from Connecticut. Sir William Johnson found it necessary to work out a compromise between the Indians and the numerous claimants to the Kayaderosseras patent which lay between the Mohawk and Hudson Rivers.

The Vandalia project stimulated western speculators, and there was a great rush on the part of those holding military warrants to locate their claims. Since the Proclamation of 1763 did not apply to these warrants, we find surveying parties traveling far afield laying out claims for shrewd speculators. Captain Bullitt made surveys for Dr. John Connolly at Louisville, although Preston, the Virginia surveyor, refused to recognize them as legal. All through the winter of 1773-74, parties were ranging the Kentucky regions making surveys, even though they knew it would stir up the resentment of the Indians.

In December 1773 George Croghan reported that not less than sixty thousand souls were settled between Pittsburgh and the mouth of the Ohio.[49]

The rather vague definition of the western boundary of Pennsylvania as five degrees west of the Delaware River led to a serious dispute with Virginia as to the ownership of the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers, the so-called gateway of the west. Virginia claimed the disputed

[47]C. E. Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country 1763-1774*, 160.
[48]*Proceedings of Indian Commissioners*, etc. (Hough editor) note 1, p. 329.
[49]Justin Winsor, *The Westward Movement*, 60.

territory as Augusta County, while Pennsylvania, in 1773, established Westmoreland County north of the projection of the Mason and Dixon line and west of the Youghiogheny.[50] Lord Dunmore sent his agent to Pittsburgh to make good the claims of Virginia, and while there this agent, John Connolly, sent out warnings to the frontiersmen which would certainly lead to war. At the same time certain atrocious murders of Indians started the tribesmen on the war path, a thing devoutly hoped for by Dunmore. Although Dunmore was at this time on bad terms with his legislature, yet so great was the interest of Virginia in the land northwest of the Ohio that it loyally supported the Governor's Indian war.

A raid on the Muskingum and a pitched battle with a part of the Governor's army, commanded by General Lewis, at Point Pleasant at the mouth of the Kanawha convinced the Indians of the futility of their attempt. At the same time Sir William Johnson and his deputy George Croghan prevented the Six Nations from participating in the struggle.

At a preliminary treaty negotiated at Dunmore's camp near the Scioto the Indians agreed to abandon the land south of the Ohio, while the whites were not to cross to the north of that river. The final conference was never held because after the Governor's return to Williamsburg the Revolutionary struggle developed to such an extent that he was compelled to seek refuge in flight.

It is very evident that the Dunmore war was a speculator's war. At the same time the spirit of the Shawanees, the most redoubtable fighters near the frontier, was broken. This was of great value to the colonies in the early days of the Revolution. Another fact of importance is that hundreds of men who saw the western territories when marching with the Governor and General Lewis, became confirmed expansionists. Finally, it must be remembered that the fundamental cause of the war remained after its close, and that Indian resentment

[50]F. L. Paxson, *History of the American Frontier*, 16.

would arise anew with the continued encroachments. Had it not been for these intrusions, it is doubtful whether the British could have aroused any very great Indian opposition against the colonies.

A survey of the Stuart correspondence in the Library of Congress shows the difficulties faced by the Indian department in the matter of trade regulations. A letter from David Taitt, Stuart's representative among the Creeks, dated September 21, 1772, mentions the fact that large quantities of rum were sold illegally to these Indians.[51]

In a letter of September 24, 1773, Taitt makes the following statement: "Galphin seems determined to observe no regulation whatsoever."[52]

A Chickasaw talking to Stuart at about the same time complained of the acts of fraudulent traders.[53]

Alexander Cameron, the commissary among the Cherokees, wrote Stuart on October 11, 1773, that Richard Pearis was smuggling rum into the Cherokee tribe; also, that Pearis was encouraging the whites and reds to bring in stolen horses which he then sold in Virginia.[54]

Finally, on May 12, 1774, John McIntosh, commissary among the Choctaws, wrote complaining of the fact that an overabundance of rum was being sold to these Indians and that more than a dozen of their young people had been killed recently in drunken orgies.[55] Thus it would seem that the colonial control of Indian trade was entirely inadequate.

On December 15, 1774, Stuart reported a very interesting development in the matter of trade regulation in the Southern district. Sir James Wright, the governor of Georgia, had adopted with some small variations the instructions by which traders were governed when trade was entrusted to Stuart's

[51]C. O. 5, LXXIV, 31.
[52]C. O. 5, LXXV, 28.
[53]C. O. 5, LXXI, 217.
[54]C. O. 5, LXXV, 13.
[55]C. O. 5, LXXV, 171.

management. Lieutenant Governor Bull of South Carolina also approved these regulations, and Stuart was hopeful that the governors of the other provinces in his district would raise no objections to them. The execution of the regulations was to be in the hands of the officers appointed by Stuart to act in the different nations. Trade would then be on the same footing as when under the control of the superintendent, and the disorder and confusion which for several years had prevailed would now be prevented.[56] It is impossible to ascertain the success of such a plan, for within six months of this time Stuart was compelled to remove to Florida because of the Revolutionary upheaval in the Carolinas and Georgia.

Stuart pointed out in a letter to Sir Henry Clinton that many of the Indian traders became agents for the Continental Congress or for the individual states.[57] Among these were George Galphin who, because of his sympathies with the rebellious party, was not considered in the division of the proceeds of the land sales from the Creek and Cherokee cessions of 1773. Although he was extremely influential in the American interests, he was not overly enthusiastic at the outbreak of the war. In a letter to Timothy Barnard, a trader among the Creeks, he had the following to say, "I was sorry Independence is declared for I was still in hopes affairs would have been settled but now all is over." A little further on, speaking of the impending battle around New York in the fall of 1776 (this letter was written early in August of that year), he added, "I wish that they were in Hell what was *(sic)* the means of so many brave men being killed and God knows when there will be an end to it now as there is an independency declared."[58]

As in the south, so also in the north the Indian superintendent found it difficult to enforce trade regulations which would

[56]C. O. 5, LXXVI, 3.
[57]C. O. 5, LXXVII, 209.
[58]C. O. 5, LXXVIII, 102. Letter of August 18, 1776, in Stuart's of October 26, 1776.

be satisfactory and fair to the Indians. In a letter to General Gage on August 30, 1769, Sir William Johnson complained that allowing traders among the tribes accounted for murders which were probably committed by the French, but which could not be prevented unless the Indian department had much closer supervision over trade.[59] Again writing to Thomas Wharton on September 12, 1769, Johnson pointed out how the withdrawal of the Indian officers from the trading posts opened the tribes to the intrigues of the French and to the abuses of the frontier settlers.[60] In a letter to Thomas Penn on January 30, 1770, he spoke of the majority of the traders in the Indian country as a "Sett of very worthless fellows."[61] These are merely some of the many instances appearing in the Johnson Papers which show how inefficiently the colonies managed trade in the northern district.

All colonial efforts to devise a system for the effective control of the fur trade were futile. The plan of having the trade regulated by commissions to be appointed by those colonies chiefly concerned had to be abandoned because of royal opposition. The Crown feared that such trade conferences might be used for disloyal purposes by the disaffected colonies.

It was also difficult to formulate any measure upon which the colonies could agree, because of divergent interests. When in 1771 the New York assembly drew up a series of regulating acts and submitted them to the council in Quebec, they were opposed by the Montreal merchants in which opposition the Quebec council concurred. All attempts on the part of colonial governors and the British ministry to secure the passage of laws designed to regulate trade failed because of the conflicting interests of the colonies most concerned.[62]

Conditions in the Indian country were intolerable for the nations, and it became necessary for the imperial government

[59]*Sir William Johnson Papers,* VII, 150.
[60]*Ibid.,* 167.
[61]*Ibid.,* 363.
[62]W. E. Stevens, *The Northwest Fur Trade,* 31-32.

to take some action. For this, the interests of the Canadian merchants in the territory north of the Ohio pointed the way. One reason for the passage of the Quebec Act was the desire of the British government to establish some legal authority in this territory; another reason was that given by William Knox, when speaking in favor of the act in Parliament, namely to prevent the settlement of, and to establish uniform trade regulations in the Indian country.[63] Then, too, the illegal land purchases by the Wabash and Illinois companies convinced the British authorities that the best method of establishing control in the northwest was to place this region under the government of Quebec. The extension of French law would act as an effective check in the settlement of this territory, since no Virginian would wish to live under this legal system. The problem of colonial trade regulation was avoided as well as the necessity for a meeting of the colonies to consult with regard to the establishment of trade regulations. Another consideration is that the governor was instructed that he could prescribe the regulations for the Indian trade of the regions under his control. The plan of 1764 was sent as a guide for any trade policy which he might formulate. Thus, in a way, the British government was able to put into effect here its original Indian policy which opposition to the Stamp Act had made impossible. By his instructions, Governor Carleton could also set up civil government in this Indian territory. If the carrying out of the plan of 1764 was to be left to the colonial authorities, it was excellent to have it in the hands of the colonial government least subject to popular influence.[64]

That there was opposition to the Quebec Act in the colonies which revolted is well known. There was, however, much feeling against this law on the part of the Canadian merchants, who feared that trade restrictions, which forced them to dis-

[63]W. E. Stevens, *The Northwest Fur Trade;* See also Victor Coffin, "The Province of Quebec and the Early American Revolution," *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, Economics History and Political Science,* I, No. 3.

[64]W. E. Stevens, *op. cit.,* 33.

continue their commerce with New York, would also cause disastrous rises in the price of commodities. This feeling was so strong that there was fear on the part of the authorities that the Montreal merchants would join the revolting colonies.[65]

In the south, the period of British control was rapidly drawing to a close. On March 28, 1775, Stuart wrote Dartmouth that Gage had warned him of the fact that the New England colonies were tampering with the northern Indians. Stuart immediately warned his agents to watch for similar attempts on the part of the southern colonies.[66]

During the spring months of 1775 Stuart had been ill, but he wrote Dartmouth on May 20 of that year that Indian affairs were progressing in a very satisfactory manner. The Creeks, however, were complaining because of the lack of goods.[67]

On July 21, Stuart was writing from St. Augustine, where he had been compelled to flee because of the attempt on the part of the South Carolina Committee of Safety to arrest him. The South Carolinians were much alarmed, for they thought Stuart was trying to stir up an Indian uprising on the frontier. However, so far as one can glean from Stuart's letters and from his conference with the Georgia Committee, he was trying only—during the summer of 1775—to keep the Indians in the King's interest and not to cause them to attack the frontier.[68]

[65]*Ibid.,* 36-37.

[66]C. O. 5, LXXVI, 81.

[67]*Ibid.,* 107.

[68]*Ibid.,* 143; also same 183. In this letter Stuart criticizes the Cherokees for aiding the Shawanees in killing Virginians—also for their land sales. C. O. 5, LXXVII, 83—in this letter Cameron discusses the letter of Stuart which caused so much furor in South Carolina and Georgia. See also Lieutenant-Governor Campbell to Dartmouth, August 31, 1775, *Public Records of South Carolina,* XXXV, 191; See also Philip M. Hamer, "The Wataugans and the Cherokee Indians in 1776," *East Tennessee Historical Society Publications,* No. 3 (1931). This is an excellent portrayal of Stuart's policy during the early period of the Revolutionary War.

The South Carolina revolutionary committee was particularly active, and its influence spread to Georgia. Many of those who had been often in conflict with the British authorities were now to be found on the colonial side. Among these were Richard Pearis, who, however, played the game safely at first,[69] W. H. Drayton, George Galphin, Robert Rae, and Edward Wilkinson. Galphin's influence was especially great with the Lower Creeks. This group had been at odds with the British authorities since 1773 and proved excellent material to be used as a center of agitation.[70]

Governor Wright reported to Lord Dartmouth on July 8, 1775, that the Charleston Committee of Safety had appointed three men to superintend Indian affairs in the Creek country and three in the Cherokee tribe. This committee was also active in the seizure of a large supply of powder destined for Savannah and another going to St. Augustine. This powder was especially valuable as a gift to the Creeks, which tribe was short of supplies because of the recent difficulties with the English.[71]

On June 26, 1775, Major Williams was instructed by the Committee to confer with Alexander Cameron, to learn his views and to assure him of the support of the colony in case Stuart should withdraw his salary. At this conference Cameron assured the Major that he had never understood Stuart's plan to be an attack on the frontier. His interpretation of Stuart's letter was entirely different from that of the Committee. He seemed willing to pledge himself never to bring the Indians into the province.[72] The Committee authorized William Henry Drayton, the Reverend William Tennant,

[69]C. O. 5, LXXVII, 108. Richard Pearis finally cast his lot with the British.

[70]As late as 1778 Galphin was able to create so much anti-British sentiment among this group that the English traders were compelled to flee to Pensacola, and Stuart was obliged to place an embargo on Indian trade in order that the tribe might be brought to its senses again.

[71]*American Archives series 4,* III, 792.

[72]W. H. Drayton's *Memoirs,* I, 308-9.

accompanied by Colonel Richard Richardson, Joseph Kershaw, and the Reverend Mr. Hart to travel through the back country to explain to the people the cause for the present dispute.[73]

In September William Henry Drayton sent a long talk to the Cherokees in which he attempted to explain the causes of the difficulties with England. He promised the Indians goods as soon as they could be procured.[74] At the same time South Carolina officials were getting ready to treat with the Cherokees who were being brought down by Richard Pearis. That Pearis was not very successful with his Indian negotiations appears in a letter from Cameron to Stuart, November 8, 1775.[75] At a conference with the Indians, where Pearis was represented by his son, Drayton's talk was read. Cameron, who was also present, reminded the Indians of the fact that Pearis was a forger and had tried to deprive them of their lands by dishonest methods. He also made a point of the fact that the King was the chief protector of their land. After Cameron completed his talk, one of the chiefs in a speech made it clear that the Indians would pay no attention to Pearis and that they would follow the advice of "Scotchie" who had been appointed by their Father, the superintendent, to take care of them.

In November the South Carolina Provincial Congress had to make a long declaration to quiet the minds of the frontiersmen—especially of those who were non-associators. This was done because of the powder which had been captured from the British, and which had been given to the Creeks by Georgia. Furthermore, in October, as a result of a meeting of the Cherokee chiefs with William Henry Drayton, the South Carolina Council agreed to furnish the Cherokees with ammunition.

[73]*Ibid.,* I, 324. Drayton had written a revolutionary pamphlet for which he lost his position as judge. This, however, did not cause him to cease his activities as a Whig and so on petition by the Council, he was suspended from that body by Lieutenant-Governor Bull, March 1, 1775.

[74]*Ibid.,* I, 419.

[75]C. O. 5, LXXVII, 140.

By this time the continental Indian department was beginning to function, and on November 13, 1775, a meeting of the Federal commissioners with the Indians was held at Salisbury.[76] At this conference the American commissioners, consistent with the policy of the Continental Congress, as will be seen later, urged the southern Indians to remain neutral in the coming struggle. They also invited them to a conference at Augusta, Georgia, the following spring.

Stuart, who had had thus far no instructions from either Generals Howe or Clinton to employ the Indians, planned to move his headquarters to Pensacola early in 1776. He was, however, called to a conference with Henry Clinton off Cape Fear. At this conference plans were made for the coöperation of Loyalists, Indians, and British regulars in any offensive which might be undertaken against the colonists. When Stuart finally got to Pensacola he found reports of an alarming situation in the Cherokee Nation.[77] The outcome of this situation will be discussed in the next chapter.

On July 11, 1774, Sir William Johnson passed away while trying to quiet the unrest among the Six Nations due to frontier clashes on the Ohio. Ever since the close of the French and Indian War he had faithfully attempted to protect the

. . . . continue to imitate them for the good of the public . . . . Take due care of them [our affairs] as that great man did."[78] For thirty-six years Johnson had been on the New York frontier. His knowledge of Indian affairs and his influence over the northern tribes was greater than that of any other individual, either English or American. His large experience had given him an understanding of Indian relations which inspired confidence both in England and among the tribes. The death of this valuable leader so close to the Revolutionary struggle was an irreparable loss for the mother country.

As in the south, individual northern colonies began to take action with regard to Indian matters very early in the controversy. Already in 1774, at a general council at Onondaga, the Six Nations reported that confusion existed among the Indians. This confusion was occasioned by reports received from the white people that the King and the Americans were at variance.[79] Early in April 1775, the Massachusetts Provincial Congress sent an address to the Stockbridge Indians. They also sent a letter to Samuel Kirkland, a missionary to the Oneidas. He was instructed to attach the Six Nations to the American cause, and if this were not possible, at least to keep them neutral.[80] The same colony also made overtures to

The Narrative of Col. David Fanning

EDITED
WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
BY
Lindley S. Butler

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&
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Introduction

IN DECEMBER, 1861, in Richmond, Virginia, the new capital of the Confederate States of America, appeared a slim volume entitled *The Narrative of Colonel David Fanning*. Edited by Thomas H. Wynne, the secretary of the Virginia Historical Society, and with an introduction by John Hill Wheeler, a former diplomat and a North Carolina historian, the limited edition of fifty copies was the first publication of the most significant loyalist narrative about the American Revolution in the southern provinces.[1] Although the narrative challenged the long accepted Whig view of the Revolutionary era in the Carolinas, it attracted little or no attention among the stirring events of 1861. It was reprinted in a limited edition of 200 copies by Joseph Sabin in 1865, and in 1907 became widely available to historians by the inclusion of the Wynne edition in volume XXII of Walter Clark's *The State Records of North Carolina*. A subsequent Canadian edition by Alfred W. Savary[2] in 1908 contains the only complete version of the text, but Savary like Wynne heavily edited and skimpily annotated the text. Nevertheless, in the present century professional historians have utilized the narrative in general state histories and in a few county histories.

David Fanning finished the journal of his wartime experiences on June 24, 1790, at his home on the St. John River in the province of New Brunswick, Canada. The carefully compiled narrative opens in May, 1775, in backcountry South Carolina where a twenty-year-old frontier Indian trader is faced with the awesome choice of loyalty to his king or armed rebellion and treason. The record of Fanning's formative years is sparse, but there a few glimpses of the youth in local records and in his Loyalist claim. He was born in the settlement of Birch Swamp, Amelia County,

[1] *The Narrative of Colonel David Fanning, (A Tory in the Revolutionary War with Great Britain;) Giving an Account of his Adventures in North Carolina, From 1775 to 1783, As Written by Himself, with an Introduction and Explanatory Notes.* Edited by Thomas H. Wynne with an introduction by John H. Wheeler (Richmond, Va.: private [Historical Documents Relating to the Old North State No. 1] 1861). The reprints of this edition are: *The Narrative of Colonel David Fanning . . .* (New York: Reprinted for Joseph Sabin [Sabin's Reprints. Second Series. No. 1] 1865); Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston and Goldsboro, N. C.: State of North Carolina, 1907), XXII, 180–239; and *The Narrative of Colonel David Fanning . . .* (Spartanburg, S. C.: The Reprint Company, 1973 [reprint of the Sabin 1865 reprint].

[2] *Col. David Fanning's Narrative of his Exploits and Adventures as a Loyalist of North Carolina in the American Revolution, supplying important ommissions in the copy published in the United States.* Edited by Alfred W. Savary (Toronto: Reprinted from *The Canadian Magazine*, 1908).

Virginia in 1755. His grandfather, Bryan Fanning, was the first of the family to settle in the county, and his father, David, had moved his family to North Carolina where he was drowned in the Deep River before his son was born. His widow remained in North Carolina with her young daughter and new son, but the struggle was apparently too much for her. She succumbed in 1764, leaving her two children, Elizabeth and David, to be bound as orphans to guardians in Johnston County (the present Wake County). In later years David Fanning would claim his father's property in Virginia, two plantations totalling 1100 acres, but he never succeeded in securing his inheritance.[3]

In July, 1764, the county court bound the nine-year-old Fanning to a guardian, Needham Bryan, Jr., a county justice, who at least fulfilled his obligation to educate the boy. Fanning was apprenticed to Thomas Leech, who may have been a loom mechanic.[4] In 1778 Fanning was reportedly working as a mechanic and loom builder in Chatham County,[5] although he said nothing of his early life other than the statement that he was "farmer bred."[6] Some insight on this period is provided by the folk traditions compiled by Eli W. Caruthers in his history published in 1854. According to Caruthers, Fanning left his guardian because of harsh treatment and fled to Orange County where he was taken in by the John O'Deniell family. It was here that he was supposedly cured of scald head or tetter worm, an offensive scalp disease that left him bald. Thereafter he wore a silk skull cap. Another tradition from Caruthers is the widespread reputation that Fanning had as a youth of being a superb horseman and a tamer of wild horses.[7]

By 1773 Fanning left North Carolina and moved to the western section of South Carolina, settling with Joseph Kellet on Raeburn's Creek, a tributary of the Reedy River in the present Laurens County. In the next two years he farmed and traded with the Catawba Indians and possibly the Cherokees, accumulating twenty horses, six head of cattle, and two slaves.[8] While guiding his pack trains over the trails of the Indian border country, Fanning acquired an intimate knowledge of the forest that would be

[3] Public Record Office, London: Audit Office Papers, American Loyalist Claims: David Fanning, A.O./13. Photocopy of the transcript in the Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C. Will of David Fanning, March 10, 1825, Office of the Register of Probate of Digby County, Digby, N.S.

[4] Johnston County Court Minutes. Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C., July 17, 1764.

[5] Manuscript Notes for a Sketch of David Fanning, Archibald Debow Murphey Papers. Southern Historical Collection. University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, N. C.

[6] Wyne and Wheeler, *Fanning's Narrative*, p. xxiii.

[7] Eli W. Caruthers, *Revolutionary Incidents: And Sketches of Character Chiefly in the 'Old North State'* (Philadelphia: Hayes and Zell, 1854), pp. 144–45.

[8] Loyalist Claim (North Carolina): David Fanning.

invaluable to him as a Loyalist partisan. It was on one of these trips to the Indian region in 1775 that his trade goods were pillaged by an alleged Whig militia band, and according to Caruthers from that day a new born Loyalist "swore vengence on all whigs."[9]

At this point Fanning begins the journal of his adventures as a partisan in South Carolina, Georgia, North Carolina, and Florida. The journal is an important source for the Loyalist rising in South Carolina in 1775–76 and a minor source on the various raids of 1778 and 1779 in South Carolina and Georgia and the Loyalist activities after the British invasion of South Carolina in 1780. Fanning's journal remains the key source for the Whig-Loyalist conflict that raged in North Carolina in 1781–82. The North Carolina "Tory War," fought mainly after Lord Cornwallis abandoned the state for his futile invasion of Virginia, nearly brought the Whig government to its knees, but eventually the Loyalist ascendency served to rally the Whigs to rid the state of their tormentors. For a year the state was convulsed with an agony of blood vengeance killing and pillaging that is to this day a vivid memory in the folklore of the Cape Fear and Deep River valleys.

Who was this David Fanning who inspired such fear in his Whig enemies? Jonas Howe, who interviewed contemporaries of Fanning, described him as being "a man of fine pysique [sic], small in stature, but very muscular and in early manhood very athletic. His complexion was florid or sandy and he wore a wig. His early training made him very self-reliant, and caused him also to be exceedingly reckless and passionate."[10] In attempting to explain Fanning's extraordinary success as a partisan commander, Eli W. Caruthers wrote in his sketch of Fanning that he possessed

> the astuteness of the Indian and the fleetness of an Arab, with a constitution capable of bearing almost any amount of toil; and with a patience of hunger and fatigue worthy of any cause, he might be said to be always on horseback and always in motion.[11]

Certainly after reading Fanning's journal one must conclude that if he had not been a Loyalist he would rank with the great Whig partisans—Francis Marion, Thomas Sumter, William R. Davie, and Andrew Pickens.

In July, 1775, Fanning's military service began when the Upper Saluda provincial militia regiment was mustered on the Enoree River for the purpose of receiving an association passed by the provincial congress in June. The association called for common defense against Great Britain and was intended as a test oath. When the upcountry militia rejected the

[9] Caruthers, *Revolutionary Incidents*. p. 146.

[10] Jonas Howe, "Colonel David Fanning: The Career of a Carolina Loyalist of the American Revolution" (Unpublished article, Archives of the New Brunswick Museum, St. John, N.B., 1890), p. 14.

[11] Caruthers, *Revolutionary Incidents*, p. 150.

association, the Council of Safety responded by dispatching a mission to persuade the disaffected settlers to the Revolutionary cause and by mustering the Whig militia.[12]

Although a clash was averted in September by a truce arranged primarily by William Henry Drayton at Ninety Six, the peace was shattered in November by the arrest of a prominent Loyalist Robert Cunningham, who was sent to Charleston. Cunningham's brother Patrick organized a band, which Fanning joined, that tried to free Robert Cunningham but failed. Instead they seized a load of powder that the Council of Safety was sending to the Cherokees and then participated in the siege of Ninety Six. The Loyalist victory at Ninety Six on November 22 was countered by a major invasion of the upcountry by Whig militia from both the Carolinas. This campaign ended with the capture of most of Patrick Cunningham's men at the Big Cane Brake on December 22. Fanning narrowly escaped capture and fled to the Cherokees.[13]

In less than a month Fanning was made a prisoner by Whig militia—the first of fourteen captures over the next three years. He was released and agreed to remain neutral but was swept into the Cherokee raids in July, 1776. With the Indians he was in the skirmish at Lindley's Fort on July 15 where a reinforced Whig band held the post against the Cherokee-Loyalist force.[14] The Whigs retaliated for the Cherokee raids by sending massive columns of militia from North and South Carolina to destroy Indian villages and crops. Fanning went to his old friends in North Carolina but found little haven there. Over the next nine months he was captured and released three times.

Fanning returned to his home on Raeburn's Creek in March, 1777, but was arrested immediately. After escaping the next day he attempted to reach West Florida and was captured again. Following four months' imprisonment at Ninety Six he was tried for treason and acquitted. The Loyal Militia was summoned to aid in repelling an American expedition on the

[12] David Ramsay, *Ramsay's History of South Carolina from Its First Settlement in 1670 to the Year 1808* (Newberry, S. C.: W. J. Duffie, 1858), I, 128–35. John Drayton, *Memoirs of the American Revolution, From Its Commencement to the Year 1776, Inclusive: As Relating to the State of South Carolina* (Charleston, S. C.: A. E. Miller, 1821), I, 126–30, 154–55, 166–67, 246, 252–55, 285–86, 312, 353. R. W. Gibbes (ed.), *Documentary History of the American Revolution: Consisting of Letters and Papers Relating to the Contest for Liberty, Chiefly in South Carolina, from originals in the Possession of the Editor, and other Sources, 1764–1776* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1855), pp. 123–24.

[13] Drayton, *Memoirs*, I, 324, 351, 365–71, 380, 399–403, 412–28; II, 60, 64–67, 116–22, 125, 128–33, 148–49, 151–52. Gibbes, *Documentary History*, pp. 209–10, 214–19, 242–43, 246–48. "A Journal of Col[n] David Fannings transactions During the late War in America, from the year 1775—Commencing 1st of May until the peace" (Unpublished transcript by Jonas Howe, Archives of the New Brunswick Museum, St. John, N.B. [n.d.]), pp. 1–3.

[14] "Fanning' Journal," p. 4. Drayton, *Memoirs*, II, 342.

Georgia-East Florida border early in 1778, and according to Fanning he was elected the commander of the Loyalists from his area. After raiding along the Savannah River the Loyalists were ordered to return home where they found much to their dismay that the Raeburn's Creek settlement was under Whig control.[15]

Forced to remain on the run and in the forest, Fanning was again captured in October and placed in the now familiar surroundings of the Ninety Six jail. Although put in irons and chained to the floor, he managed to escape on December 20. Three days later he was back in his cell, but by February he was again on the loose. A reward was offered for Fanning but he managed to elude his pursuers for six months. Finally, after suffering a wound and becoming desperately ill, he negotiated with the Whigs, ultimately receiving a conditional pardon from Governor John Rutledge. Fanning returned home, agreeing to accept neutrality and to guide Whig units when requested. Under these terms he served the Whig militia for a year.[16]

The British invasion of South Carolina and the fall of Charleston on May 12, 1780, rejuvenated Loyalist hopes throughout the province. William Cunningham recruited a force, which Fanning joined, that scouted for the British over the next several months. The most important action in which Fanning was involved was the Loyalist defeat at Musgrove's Mill on August 18. Following Ferguson's debacle at Kings Mountain on October 7, 1780, the South Carolina Loyalists lost the initiative, and Fanning turned again to his North Carolina friends on Deep River in Chatham County where he lived quietly for several months seeking followers in anticipation of a British invasion by Lord Cornwallis.[17]

The news that Cornwallis had cleared the state of the American army in February, 1781, and raised the royal standard at Hillsborough brought Fanning and other North Carolina Loyalists into the open. Fanning gathered a group of Loyalists to scout for the British. Emboldened by the apparent British victory at Guilford Courthouse in March, he delivered recruits and a scouting report to Cornwallis at Dixon's Mill on Cane Creek where the British rested before resuming their march to Wilmington.[18]

At Wilmington, Major James H. Craig, who had taken possession of the town on January 28, established a fortified base garrisoned with 450

[15] "Fanning's Journal," pp. 4–6. Kenneth Coleman, *The American Revolution in Georgia, 1763–1780* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1958), pp. 106–7.

[16] "Fanning's Journal," pp. 6–11. Loyalist Claim (North Carolina): David Fanning.

[17] Ramsay, *History*, I, 186–87. "Fanning's Journal," pp. 11–12. J. B. O. Landrum, *Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina* (Spartanburg, S. C.: The Reprint Company [reprint of 1897 edition] 1959), pp. 147–56. General Cornwallis to David Fanning, McAlister's Plantation, January 8, 1781. Public Record Office, London: Cornwallis Papers. P.R.O. 30/11/84. Microfilm in Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[18] "Fanning's Journal," pp. 13–15.

British regulars and Loyalists. After Cornwallis invaded Virginia in May, 1781, the British enclave became the key source of ammunition, supplies, and specie for the Loyalists in the state. Unlike Cornwallis, who had envisioned large numbers of Loyalists in provincial units supporting the regular army, Craig understood how effective properly supported irregular partisans could be in keeping the Whig civil authorities and military forces confused, scattered, and weak.[19] In that period neither side in North Carolina had a regular army at their disposal, and the domination of the Cape Fear valley by Major Craig's small garrison and his Loyalist partisans was a remarkable feat of arms.

Back on the Deep River in early May, Fanning established a strong post at Cox's Mill in Randolph County. Over the next few weeks Fanning, leading a Loyalist band varying in size from twenty to fifty men, fought a series of successful skirmishes with the Whigs. John Ramsey, a local Whig leader, wrote to Governor Thomas Burke that "from the daring Spirit of the Tories, almost all the whigs was gone to oppose Fanning . . . I do assure you Sir we are Exceedingly distressed in this Quarter what few there is of us, is Oblidge to be out Constantly or Lay in the woods."[20] The heavily outnumbered Fanning was pressed so closely by the Whigs in late June that he had to disperse his men temporarily.

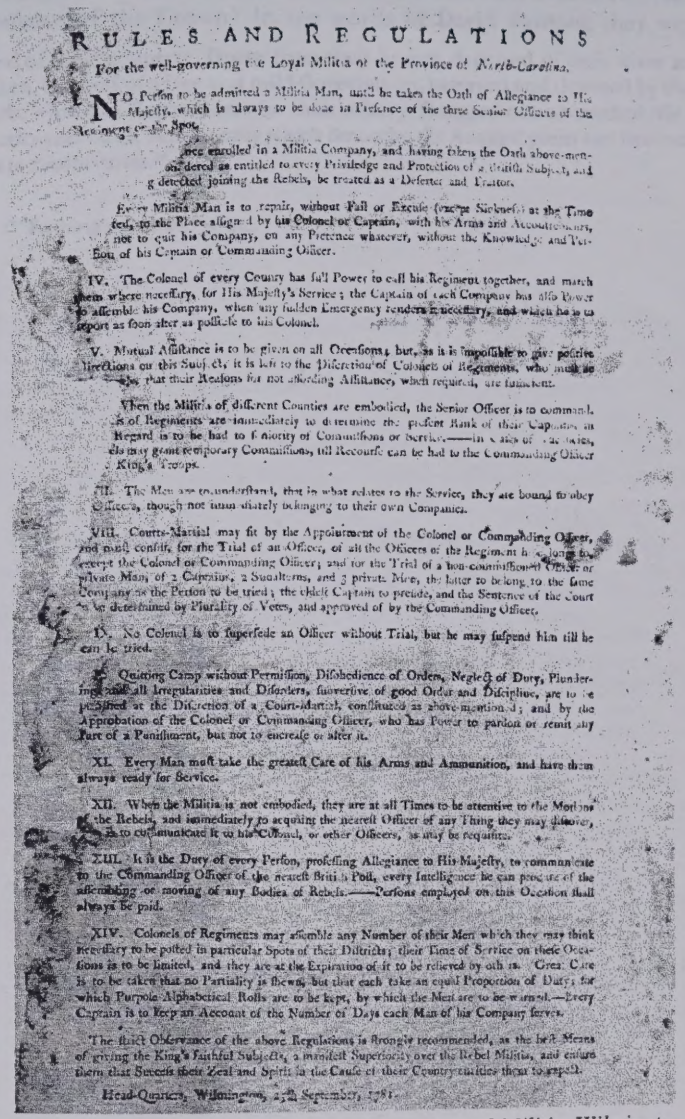
When Fanning again mustered his command there was dissension in the ranks, which caused his supporters to send a petition to Craig requesting that Fanning be appointed the commanding officer of the militia. After securing his commission as colonel of the Loyal Militia in Randolph and Chatham counties, Fanning called a general muster and organized twenty-two companies. From this muster he handpicked fifty-three well-armed, well-mounted marauders to ride with him.[21] The Loyalist rising now entered a new phase directed by Fanning, who operated independently in the upper Cape Fear valley with only nominal control from Wilmington. Fanning and the other Loyalist bands so disrupted the valley that Whig militia musters could not be held, and few if any Whig recruits could be found in the region. In desperation the Whigs lashed out with intimidation, pillaging, and murder, and a wave of violence broke over the river valley.

Fanning's first blow fell on Chatham Courthouse on July 17 where a Whig court was scheduled to try and probably execute several Loyalists. Early in the morning his men surrounded the county seat, taking within two hours fifty-three prisoners, including most of the county militia officers,

[19] Major James H. Craig to ——, Wilmington, July 30, 1781. P.R.O. 30/11/16. Cornwallis Papers. Clark, *State Records*, XV, 423, 490; XVII, 979, 1015. William H. Hoyt (ed.), *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey* (Raleigh, N. C.: North Carolina Historical Commission [Division of Archives and History] 1914), II, 297. John S. Watterson III, "The Ordeal of Governor Burke," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XLVIII (April, 1971), 97.

[20] Clark, *State Records*, XV, 437.

[21] "Fanning's Journal," pp. 16–21.



RULES AND REGULATIONS

For the well-governing the Loyal Militia of the Province of *North-Carolina*.

NO Person to be admitted a Militia Man, until he takes the Oath of Allegiance to His Majesty, which is always to be done in Presence of the three Senior Officers of the Regiment on the Spot.

II. [illegible]nce enrolled in a Militia Company, and having taken the Oath above-mentioned, [illegible] considered as entitled to every Privilege and Protection of a British Subject, and [illegible]g detected joining the Rebels, be treated as a Deserter and Traitor.

III. Every Militia Man is to repair, without Fail or Excuse (except Sickness) at the Time [illegible]ed, to the Place assigned by his Colonel or Captain, with his Arms and Accoutrements, [illegible] not to quit his Company, on any Pretence whatever, without the Knowledge and Per[illegible]ion of his Captain or Commanding Officer.

IV. The Colonel of every County has full Power to call his Regiment together, and march them where necessary, for His Majesty's Service; the Captain of each Company has also Power to assemble his Company, when any sudden Emergency renders it necessary, and which he is to report as soon after as possible to his Colonel.

V. Mutual Assistance is to be given on all Occasions; but, as it is impossible to give positive Directions on this Subject, it is left to the Discretion of Colonels of Regiments, who must be [illegible], that their Reasons for not affording Assistance, when required, are sufficient.

VI. When the Militia of different Counties are embodied, the Senior Officer is to command. [illegible]s of Regiments are immediately to determine the present Rank of their Captains, in [illegible] Regard is to be had to Priority of Commissions or Service.——In Cases of [illegible] [illegible]ies, [illegible]ls may grant temporary Commissions, till Recourse can be had to the Commanding Officer [illegible] King's Troops.

VII. The Men are to understand, that in what relates to the Service, they are bound to obey [illegible] Officers, though not immediately belonging to their own Companies.

VIII. Courts-Martial may sit by the Appointment of the Colonel or Commanding Officer, and must consist, for the Trial of an Officer, of all the Officers of the Regiment he belongs to, except the Colonel or Commanding Officer; and for the Trial of a non-commissioned Officer or private Man, of 2 Captains, 2 Subalterns, and 3 private Men, the latter to belong to the same Company as the Person to be tried; the eldest Captain to preside, and the Sentence of the Court to be determined by Plurality of Votes, and approved of by the Commanding Officer.

IX. No Colonel is to supersede an Officer without Trial, but he may suspend him till he can be tried.

X. Quitting Camp without Permission, Disobedience of Orders, *Neglect* of Duty, Plundering and all Irregularities and Disorders, subversive of good Order and Discipline, are to be punished at the Discretion of a Court-Martial, constituted as above mentioned; and by the Approbation of the Colonel or Commanding Officer, who has Power to pardon or remit any Part of a Punishment, but not to encrease or alter it.

XI. Every Man must take the greatest Care of his Arms and Ammunition, and have them always ready for Service.

XII. When the Militia is not embodied, they are at all Times to be attentive to the Motions of the Rebels, and immediately to acquaint the nearest Officer of any Thing they may discover, [illegible] to communicate it to his Colonel, or other Officers, as may be requisite.

XIII. It is the Duty of every Person, professing Allegiance to His Majesty, to communicate to the Commanding Officer of the nearest British Post, every Intelligence he can procure of the assembling or moving of any Bodies of Rebels.——Persons employed on this Occasion shall always be paid.

XIV. Colonels of Regiments may assemble any Number of their Men which they may think necessary to be posted in particular Spots of their Districts; their Time of Service on these Occasions is to be limited, and they are at the Expiration of it to be relieved by oath is. Great Care is to be taken that no Partiality is shewn, but that each take an equal Proportion of Duty; for which Purpose Alphabetical Rolls are to be kept, by which the Men are to be warned.—Every Captain is to keep an Account of the Number of Days each Man of his Company serves.

The strict Observance of the above Regulations is strongly recommended, as the best Means of giving the King's faithful Subjects, a manifest Superiority over the Rebel Militia, and enforce them that Success their Zeal and Spirit in the Cause of their Country entitles them to expect.

Head-Quarters, Wilmington, 25th September, 1781.

Rules and Regulations of the North Carolina Loyal Militia. Wilmington, September 25, 1781. Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, UNC Library.

The other edition of Fanning's journal was edited in 1908 by a county judge and local historian, Alfred W. Savary. Like Howe, he worked with the original manuscript, and for the first time the complete journal, including Fanning's travails in Florida, was published in *The Canadian Magazine* and in a reprint edition of 125 copies. Savary found the manuscript with "little or no punctuation, and the orthography and too free use of initial capitals is perhaps a little more irregular than was common in those days."[44] He admitted modernizing the punctuation and capitalization and correcting verb tenses,[45] but the flavor of Fanning's "quaint" eighteenth century expression was lost under the well-intentioned but heavy-handed editing of Savary. The Savary edition, however, has been valuable because it has been the only complete publication of the journal; consequently, the last portion of the journal from Savary is included in this edition.

Now after the passage of nearly two centuries, David Fanning can speak for himself in his own words. The residue of bitterness left by the excesses of the Whig-Loyalist conflict that embroiled the Carolinas has mellowed with time; yet, the Loyalists have borne the guilt for this violent upheaval too long. American historians, especially in the earlier generations, conveniently ignored such observations as the one made by the Whig General Stephen Drayton, who wrote from Cross Creek in July, 1781, that

> I believe firmly, that we have by our own imprudencies & irregular proceedings made more Enemies, than have become so from mere inclination; . . . Civil Wars are always attended with something horrid. The bare idea of Friend against Friend & nearest Relatives in armed opposition shocks human nature! But good God! Sir, let us not countenance barbarities that would disgrace the savage![46]

A master of partisan warfare, David Fanning was truly, in the words of an earlier biographer, "one of the most extraordinary men evolved by the Revolutionary War."[47] The herculean effort of the daring and resourceful Fanning in 1781 produced temporary victories in North Carolina, but the depth and size of the Whig commitment was clearly underestimated by the Loyalists. Nevertheless, if the British had been able to adjust their Southern strategy and properly support the success of Craig and Fanning in the Cape Fear valley, the outcome in North Carolina might have been different. Regrettably for the Loyalists, Lord Cornwallis had turned his back on the state five months before the climax of Fanning's campaign at Hillsborough. With the Yorktown surrender only a month away, there was no chance for the British to assess this backwater operation.

[44] Savary, *Fanning's Narrative*, 5.

[45] Alfred W. Savary to Stephen B. Weeks, Anapolis Royal, October 12, 1908. North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, N. C.

[46] Clark, *State Records*, XV, 511.

[47] Samuel A'Court Ashe *et al.* (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina From Colonial Times to the Present* (Greensboro, N. C.: Charles L. Van Noppen, 1905–17), V, 90.

What was left for the Loyalist exiles who risked their lives and fortunes in defense of the Crown? In the words of David Fanning they were

> striped of their property, Drove from their homes, deprived of their wives and children, Robbed of a free and mild Government, betrayed and deserted by their friends, what can Repay them for their misery. Dragged out a wretched life of obscurity and want, heaven only which Smoothe the Rugged paths can Reconcile them to misfortunes.[48]

[48] "Fanning's Journal," p. 22.

A Journal of Col^{n}. David Fannings transactions During the late War in America, from the year 1775—Commencing 1^{ts} of May until the peace

Col^{n} Thomas Fleachall[1] of Fairforest ordered the Different Captains to call musters and present two papers for the Inhabitants to sign[.] one was to see who was friends to the King and Government, and the other was to see who would Join the Rebellion[.] the first of may Capt James Lindley[2] of Rabirns Creek[3] sent to me as I was a sergeant of the said Company to have his Company warned to meet at his house 15th of said month[.][4] I did accordingly and he presenting the two papers. There was 118 men signed

[1] THOMAS FLETCHALL (1725-) of Fairforest in the present Union County, South Carolina was a justice of the peace, coroner, and colonel of the Upper Saluda militia regiment. He was a leading planter in the Ninety Six District with over 1600 acres and a grist mill. He was captured in December, 1775, by the Whigs and imprisoned for six months. After his release he returned home and lived quietly until after the Loyalist defeat at Kings Mountain when he fled to Charleston. When the British evacuated Charleston he went to Jamaica. In 1787 he described himself as corpulent with a weight of 280 pounds. Public Record Office, London: Audit Office Papers, American Loyalist Claims. Transcripts of the Manuscript Books and Papers of the Commission of Enquiry into the Losses and Services of the American Loyalists. New York Public Library. Thomas Fletchall, A.O./52, LVII, 223–39. Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution with an Historical Essay* (Port Washington, N. Y.: Kennikat Press [reissue of 1864 edition], 1966), I, 427. Gibbes, *Documentary History*, I, 123.

[2] JAMES LINDLEY (1735-1779), a native of Chester County, Pa., lived in Orange County, N. C., and settled on Reaburn's Creek by 1768 in the area that became the Ninety Six District. He was justice of the peace for several districts and a captain in the Upper Saluda regiment. He was at the siege of Ninety Six and was captured at the Great Cane Brake. Lyndley's Fort, the site of a skirmish on July 15, 1776, was apparently his home. He remained an active Loyalist until his capture at the battle of Kettle Creek in Georgia on February 14, 1779. Imprisoned in the Ninety Six jail, he was tried, convicted, and hanged in April, 1779. Gibbes, *Documentary History*, I, 25–26, 250. *South Carolina Gazette*, Charleston, S. C., February 2, 1769; January 23, 1775. Claim of William Moore, sheriff of Ninety Six District, Revolutionary Records, Audited Accounts #5335. South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, S. C. Colonial Land Plats, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, S. C., XV, 248; XVI, 315.

[3] Raeburn's Creek is a tributary of Reedy River and is located in the present Laurens County, South Carolina. The name was variously spelled as Raebern's, Rayborn's, Raborn's, and Reaburn's.

[4] The phrase "15th of said month" refers to July rather than May. The Provincial Association, which was used as a test oath, was approved by the Second Provincial Congress

in favor of the King, who Declard To Defend the same at the Risk of Lives and Property in July 1775—there was several advertisements set up in Every part of the said District that there was a Very Good prispetearing minister to call at the Different Places to preach and Baptise Children.[5]

But at the time appointed instead of meeting a Minister we all went to meet two Jews By name Silvedsor[6] and Rapely,[7] and after makeing many Speeches in favor of the Rebellion and us[d] all their endeavors to Delude the people away at last presented Revelution papers to see who would sign them[.] they were severely Reprimamanded by Henery Oneal[8] and many others[.] it Came so high that they had much adue to Get off with their Lives. the Rebels then found that we was fully Determind to oppose them. They Began to embody in the last of said month to Compell all to join them or to take away our arms: Our Officers Got word of their Intentions; I then Got orders From the Cap[t] to warn the militia to assemble themselves, at Hugh

which met in June. At the bidding of the Council of Safety, Colonel Fletchall called a regimental muster which was held on July 13. Drayton, *Memoirs*, I, 155, 246, 252, 255, 285–86, 312. Gibbes, *Documentary History*, I, 123.

[5] The minister referred to here was probably WILLIAM TENNENT, who with WILLIAM HENRY DRAYTON had been appointed by the Council of Safety on July 23, 1775, to convince the upcountry of the rightness of the Whig cause. William Tennent (1740-1777) was born in New Jersey and educated at Princeton. He had come to Charleston in 1772 as minister of the Independent Church. William Henry Drayton (1742-1779), as president of the Provincial Congress, was a key figure in the Revolutionary movement in South Carolina. He was appointed chief justice of the state in 1776 and later he served in the Continental Congress. Ramsay, *History*, II, 252, 274–75. Drayton, *Memoirs*, *passim*. Gibbes, *Documentary History*, I, 105–6.

[6] FRANCIS SALVADOR was born in England, arrived in South Carolina in 1773, and settled in the Ninety Six District. He was a member of the Provincial Congress in January, 1775, and the General Assembly. While serving as a volunteer with Major Andrew Williamson's force during the Indian uprising of 1776, he was killed in an ambush at Essenecca on the Keowee River on August 1, 1776. Drayton, *Memoirs*, II, 340–41, 345–48, 363–65, 370.

[7] RICHARD ANDREWS RAPLEY was a leading planter of the Ninety Six District and a close friend of Salvador. He was a member of the General Assembly and the Provincial Congress of 1775 and the General Assembly in 1776. He furnished extensive supplies and provisions for the revolutionary forces throughout the war. Drayton, *Memoirs*, II, 348. Audited Accounts #6249. William Edwin Hemphill and Wylma Anne Wates (eds.), *The State Records of South Carolina: Extracts from the Journals of the Provincial Congresses, 1775–1776* (Columbia, S. C.: South Carolina Archives, 1960), pp. 6, 24, 76. William Edwin Hemphill, Wylma Anne Wates, and R. Nicholas Olsberg (eds.), *The State Records of South Carolina: Journals of the General Assembly and the House of Representatives, 1776–1780* (Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1970), p. 306.

[8] HENRY O'NEAL was an early Loyalist leader who was with Patrick Cunningham when the Cherokee powder was seized. An order was issued for his arrest and he was in custody by February, 1776. With other Loyalist leaders he was excluded from pardon on April 11, 1776, by the General Assembly. Hemphill and Wates, *Provincial Congresses*, pp. 101, 104, 106, 176. Hemphill, Wates, Olsberg, *General Assembly*, p. 51.

Oneals mill which was done by Several Captains Companys and Continued for Several Days under arms, And then both parties was Determind on this Condicition That neither parties should intercept Each other[.] this Continued for Some time untill the Rebels had taken Thomas Brown[9] who after that had the Honor to be Col[n] of the Rigement of the East Florida Rangers at Augusta and Burnt his feet tard featherd and cut off His hair, and after that he got so that he was able to Set on horse Back. he came to our poast and the Rebels then began to embody again. Col[n] Fletchall formd a large Camp and marchd from the Liberty Springs to Mill Creek on our way twords Ninety Six. 12 miles from Ninety Six the Rebels found that they was not Strong Enough for us Sent an Express to Col[n] Fletchall—to come and treat with them which Said Fletchall Did but the terms of their treatment I Dont Know[.] we Was all Dismist untill further Orders[.][10] in a Short time After the Rebels took Capt. Robert Cunningham[11] and Carried him of to Charlstown[.] our party[12] was then Informd of his being taken off in the night time and by makeing an Enquiery after him we got Information of a large

[9] THOMAS BROWN settled on the Broad River in Georgia in 1773. Following his participation in the South Carolina Loyalist rising he fled to St. Augustine where he was commissioned lieutenant colonel of the Carolina King's Rangers (June 1, 1776). The rangers conducted numerous border raids and were in the expedition that took Savannah in 1779. Brown was then appointed to command British and Loyalist forces in upper Georgia. He was captured at Augusta in June, 1781, was exchanged, and served until the end of the war in Florida. He had been appointed superintendent of the Creek and Cherokee nations in 1778. After the war he settled in Nassau in the Bahamas and died on St. Vincent in 1825. Wilbur Henry Siebert (ed.), *Loyalists in East Florida 1774 to 1785; The Most Important Documents Pertaining Thereto Edited With An Accompanying Narrative* (Deland, Fla.: Florida State Historical Society, 1929), II, 323–25. Gary Olson, "Loyalists and the American Revolution: Thomas Brown and the South Carolina Backcountry, 1775–1776," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, LXVIII (October, 1967), *passim*. Sabine, *Loyalist Sketches*, I, 260–65. Coleman, *Revolution in Georgia*, pp. 65–66, 127, 131–34.

[10] The Treaty of Ninety Six, September 16, 1775, was negotiated by Thomas Fletchall and William Henry Drayton. By the terms of the treaty both parties agreed to disband their forces and maintain neutrality. The treaty effectively defused the Loyalist rising. Gibbes, *Documentary History*, I, 184–86. Drayton, *Memoirs*, I, 399–403.

[11] ROBERT CUNNINGHAM, a native of Pennsylvania, settled in the area that became Ninety Six District by 1766. With his brother Patrick, he was an active Loyalist and advised Colonel Fletchall against any negotiations with the Whigs. Robert Cunningham refused to abide by the Treaty of Ninety Six and on October 23 he was arrested by the Whigs and jailed in Charleston. He was released after a year and lived in Charleston until the British captured the city in 1780. Cunningham was commissioned brigadier general of the provincial militia on November 22 and established a post in the Ninety Six District. At the end of the war, Cunningham went first to St. Augustine, then to Nova Scotia, and finally in 1786, to Nassau in the Bahamas where he died in 1813. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, II, 315–16. Sabine, *Loyalist Sketches*, I, 346–47. Colonial Land Plats, VIII, 527; X, 198; XIV, 287. Loyalist Claim (South Carolina): Robert Cunningham, LIV, 317–25.

[12] PATRICK CUNNINGHAM commanded the Loyalist force that attempted to rescue Robert Cunningham and then seized the Indian ammunition. After just six weeks of relative

Quantity of Ammonition that was there, on Its way to the Cherichee Nation for Capt Richard Pares[13] to Bring the Indians Down into the Settlement where The friends of Goverment Livd to murder all they Could. We Intercepted the Amonition and took Capt R. Pares who Swore to those facts.[14] we then formd a Large Camp and Col^{n} Fletchall Being So Heavy he gave up the Command to Maj^{r} Joseph Robenson.[15]

In the month of November 1775 the South Carolina Militia of which I was at that time Sergeant Under the Command of Major Joseph Robinson laid Seige to a Fort erected by the Rebels at Ninety Six Commaned by Col^{n}

peace these incidents provoked the second Loyalist rising. Patrick Cunningham settled in Ninety Six before 1769 and became a deputy surveyor of the province. Following the Loyalist failure in December, 1775, Cunningham was captured in February, 1776. He was soon released and remained in Charleston until the British captured the city in 1780. He was commissioned a militia colonel. After the war he stayed in East Florida two years, but in 1785 he returned to South Carolina, was restored to his political rights, and eventually was elected to the legislature. He died in 1794. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, II, 315–16. Sabine, *Loyalist Sketches*, I, 347. Colonial Land Plats, XI, 37, 276.

[13] RICHARD PEARIS, originally from Ireland, moved to Ninety Six District in 1768 from Virginia. He had thousands of acres of land in backcountry South Carolina with plantations on the Reedy and Saluda rivers, and later the Enoree River. He filed a claim for over £15,000 in losses including land, a grist mill, a saw mill, a number of slaves, an Indian store, and large numbers of livestock. In Virginia he served in the provincial forces in the French and Indian War and as an Indian agent. After defecting to the Loyalists in South Carolina he was arrested and held nine months while his plantations were destroyed by the Whig militia and his family driven from home. Following his release by the Whigs he went to Pensacola in West Florida and was commissioned a provincial captain. After the British invasion of South Carolina he was ordered by Clinton to pacify the backcountry and served as an acting lieutenant colonel of the militia. When the British evacuated South Carolina he went to East Florida and finally to Abaco in the Bahamas. Loyalist Claim (South Carolina): Richard Pearis, XXVI, 362–85. Carole Watterson Troxler, "The Migration of Carolina and Georgia Loyalists to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1974), p. 296. Hemphill, Wates, Olsberg, *General Assembly*, pp. 62–63.

[14] The powder and lead seized by Patrick Cunningham's Loyalists on November 3, 1775, had been granted to the Cherokees as a treaty gift by the Council of Safety. Captain Richard Pearis, in command of the Whig guard, defected and gave credence to the rumor that the powder was being supplied to the Cherokees by the Whigs on the the condition that they attack the Loyalist frontier settlers. William Drayton ordered the militia to "apprehend the King's mad people concerned in this daring act." Drayton, *Memoirs*, I, 407–8; II, 64, 116. Hemphill and Wates, *Provincial Congresses*, p. 107.

[15] JOSEPH ROBINSON had 400 acres on the Broad River, was a deputy surveyor, and was a major in the Upper Saluda militia regiment. Following his successful siege of Ninety Six, he was captured at the Great Cane Brake on December 22, 1775. He was released and went to Pensacola and then St. Augustine where he was commissioned lieutenant colonel of the South Carolina Royalists in 1778. After the Evacuation of Charleston he was in East Florida, Jamaica, and finally New Brunswick. Sometime after 1788 he moved to Prince Edward Island. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, I, 52. Troxler, "Migration of Loyalists," p. 329. Loyalist Claim (South Carolina): Joseph Robinson, A.O./49, XXVI, 402–19.

Mason[16] which continued for the space of three Days and Three nights at the Expiration of which time the Rebels were forst to Surrender, and give up the Fort and Artillery[17]

Major Robinson then Ordered the militia to the North Side of Saluda River and Discharg^{d} them for Eighteen Days[.] afterwards Orders was Issued for every Capt to Collect their Respective Companies at Hendricks mill about 20 miles from Ninety Six[.] the Rebels having Receivd Inteligence of our Intended motions they Immediately marched before us and took possession of the Grounds which prevented our assembling there.

But about 300 of our men met at Little River and marched from thence to Reedy River and Encamped at the big Cane Break for Several Days—the Rebels being informed of our Situation march^{d} unexpectedly upon us and made prisoners of 130 of our men[.][18] the Remainder fled into the woods and continued there—with the Cherichee Indians untill the 18th of January 1776—when I was made prisoner by a party of Rebels commaned by a Captain John Burns,[19] who after Detaining me four days and Repeatedly urging me to take the Oath of Allegiance to the United States Stript me of Every thing and made me give Security for my future good Behaviour by which means I got clear on the 10 of may 1776. hearing the Rebels had Issued a Proclamation to all the friends of Goverment offering them pardon and protection provided they would Return to their Respective habitations & Remain neutral this Indused for to Return to my home where

[16] JAMES MAYSON, a justice of the peace of the Ninety Six District, held commissions in 1775 as lieutenant colonel of the Ninety Six militia regiment and as major in the provincial rangers. He was a member from his district in the provincial congresses of 1775. He was a member of the General Assembly of 1776 and in the period 1778–80. Although Mayson held a colonel's rank in the militia, Major Andrew Williamson was actually considered the commander at Ninety Six. Apparently they exercised a joint command in practice. Hemphill and Wates, *Provincial Congresses*, pp. 6, 24, 45, 76. Hemphill, Wates, Olsberg, *General Assembly*, pp. 14, 306, 322. Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1775–1780* (New York: MacMillan Co., 1901), pp. 11–12.

[17] The siege of Ninety Six, November 19–22, 1775, was a Loyalist victory. The Whig militia had gathered at Ninety Six under the command of Major Andrew Williamson and Major James Mayson. McCrady, *South Carolina in the Revolution*, p. 90. Drayton, *Memoirs*, II, 116–23, 148–52.

[18] The battle of the Great Cane Brake on December 22, 1775, was a brief skirmish that ended the second Loyalist rising. The Whig militia commanded by Colonel Richard Richardson and Lieutenant Colonel William Thomson were reinforced by North Carolina militia under Colonel William Polk and Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Martin. Colonel Thomson led the force that surprised the Loyalists and captured the bulk of them. On December 23 a huge snowfall began and the campaign was thereafter dubbed the "Snow Campaign." Drayton, *Memoirs*, II, 124–32. Gibbes, *Documentary History*, I, 242–43, 246–48.

[19] JOHN BURNS cannot be positively identified, although at least two men of this name were in military service in South Carolina.

I arriv^d on the 15th of June. on the 20th the Rebels Being apprehensive of the Cherichee Indians breaking out dispatched several of their Emissaries amongst the Loyalists for to Discover their Intentions. one of which was Capt Ritche,[20] who came to me and told me that he was a friend to Goverment and some time before—left the Indian Nation and then wanted a Pilot to conduct him to the Indian nation again—I agreed to Conduct him to any part of the Country he wanted for to go provided he would Keep it secret. this he promised for to do But Immediately went and lodg^d an Information against me and swore that I then had a Company of men Ready in order for to Join the Indians[.] in Consequence of this I was made prisoner again—on the 25th by a Capt. John Rogers,[21] and thrown into close confinement with three Centinels over me. On the 1st of July the Indians came down into the Back Country of South Carolina and Kild Several families—at which time the Rebel Camp being in Great Confusion I made my Escape and went to my own house at Rabirns Creek but finding a number of my friends had already Gone to the Indians and more Dispos^d so for to do. I Got 25 men for to join me and on our arrival at Pareshers plantation[22] on Reedy River in the Indian land we formed a Junction with the Indians[.] on the 15th in the Evening the militia and the Cherichees to the amount of 260 Sarrounded a fort Built with Loggs containing 450 of the Rebels and after a smart fire on both sides for two hours and a half we Retreated without—any Injury Except one of the Indian Chiefs being Shot through the hand.[23] I then left

[20] Probably the WILLIAM RITCHIE, a militia captain, who persecuted the family of William Cunningham (later called "Bloody Bill"). Ritchie killed John Cunningham who was lame, mistreated the father, and threatened the life of William Cunningham who had fled to Savannah. Cunningham returned to Ninety Six and killed Ritchie. The brothers Robert and Patrick Cunningham were cousins of William Cunningham (see footnote 39). Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, II, 314. A. S. Salley, Jr. (ed.), *Stub Entries to Indents Issued in Payment of Claims Against South Carolina Growing out of the Revolution* (Columbia, S. C.: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1925), X, part 2, 47.

[21] JOHN ROGERS received land grants in Craven County in 1771. He served in the provincial congress in 1775 as a delegate from the upper district between the Broad and Saluda rivers. The next year he represented his district in the General Assembly and was a justice of the peace for the Ninety Six District. He was present at the siege of Ninety Six as a captain of militia. Colonial Land Plats, XX, 176, 188, 191, 193; XXIV, 69, 502. Hemphill and Wates, *Provincial Congresses*, p. 78. Hemphill, Wates, Olsberg, *General Assembly*, pp. 14, 306. Drayton, *Memoirs*, II, 150.

[22] This rendezvous was the plantation of Richard Pearis, who had a vast estate that he had secured from the Cherokees through his natural son. Loyalist Claim (South Carlina): Richard Pearis, XXVI, 362–405.

[23] Lyndley's Fort was located on Reaburn's Creek in present Laurens County and was presumably the home of James Lindley. The skirmish was fought on July 15, 1776, and the Whig victory was the turning point in the Indian uprising in South Carolina. Militia from North and South Carolina later ravaged the Cherokee mountain towns in a major campaign. Whig sources claim at least two Indians were killed. McCrady, *South Carolina in the Revolution*, pp. 192–94. Drayton, *Memoirs*, II, 342, 365. Gibbes, *Documentary History*, II, 24–26, 30–31.

the Indians and pursued my way to North Carolina, where on my arrival I was taken up again and Close Confin^d but was rescued by my friends three Different times after which I made my Escape Good. I then Endeavor^d for to go home again, and after Experiencing a numberless hardships in the woods I arrived the 10th of March 1777 at Rebuns Creek South Carolina—I was made prisoner again on the 11th by a Capt Smith bound—hand and foot and carried under Guard towards Ninety Six Goal after marching 12 miles the Company halted for the evning and I watching an opportunity I cut the Ropes I was bound with and Stript myself[.] when the Guard was asleep I threw myself out of the window and Returned back to Reburns Creek by a Different way from that which they had—Carried me prisoner. I was obliged now for to seret myself in the woods until August and was supplied with provition by some Quakers and other Loyalists in the neighbourhood.—

A Company of Loyalists of which—I was one, was thin Raised by a Richard Parish[24] and it was determined to Go to mobile and Join the British army but one of the Company proving treacherous Gave information to the Rebels who Raised a body of Troops. for to Supress us[.] they took me with five more prisoners and Carried us to Ninety Six Goal[.] the 5th of August 1777 Captain Parish escaped with some of the Loyalists Belonging to the Company and made his way Good to the British army at mobile in West Floriday—Myself with the five others who where taken Remain^d in Close Confinement untill november following and were then tried for our Lives on a Charge of high Treason for Rising in arms against the United States of America but where Acquited and went home[.] the fees and expences of my Confinement amounted to 300 £ Virgina money allowing Dollars at 6 Shillings each which I paid and was then Ordered back to the Goal for the Rent of the Room.

the 1st of march 1778. Capt. John York of East Florida. Received Orders from the Commander in Chief for the Loyal militia of Georgia and South Carolina to assemble themselves accordingly they were embodied. the majority of the people chose me their Commaning Officer[.] we took a number of prisoners furnished ourselves with horses and marched to Savannah River on the Borders of Georgia 12 miles above Augusta.[25] Capt

[24] RICHARD PEARIS, see footnote 13. Pearis states that he raised a force of 400 to go to West Florida. Loyalist Claim (South Carolina): Richard Pearis, XXVI, 376.

[25] These border raids by the South Carolina and Georgia militia were apparently designed to disrupt the impending Whig invasion of Florida under Major General Robert Howe. The poorly organized and supplied invasion was aborted at the border in July. Coleman, *Revolution in Georgia*, pp. 106–8.

York who was our Pilot then Got discouraged and would not Suffer any of the militia to proceed with him back to East Florida except three men; we were then under the necessity of Returning home upwards of 100 miles through the Rebels Country and betake ourselves to the woods as formerly. During our Retreat we were pursued by 300 of the Rebels but Got Back home to Reburns Creek safe—when the Rebels found we were Returnd they Raised a body of men for to take us and for the space of three months Kept so Constant a Look out that we were oblidged for to stay in the woods. Six weeks of which time I never saw a man except Samuel Brown[26] who was afterwards Killed at Tigo-River,[27] that shared my Sufferings and lived entirely without Either Bread or Salt upon what we Killed in the wilderness. we Determined let the Consequence be what it would to proceed to the Settlement of Green River.[28] North Carolina where we Rested ourselves at a friends house about a week, here we parted. I then proceeded to Tigo River where I arrived safe the 1st of June 1778. Myself and one Samuel Smith[29] now Associated and were Taken by a Company of Rebels Commanded by a Capt. Going,[30] we made our escape the second night by Bribing the Centinel and parted Company. I met with one of the horses belonging To the Rebels about a mile from the house I had escaped from and mounted him[.] they pursued me through the woods by the horses tracks upwards of seventy miles and Came to Reburns Creek where I lived—they were anxious for to Recover their horse from me and promised for to—Return one of four they had taken from me if I would Deliver up said horse—this being agreed upon, I went with them for to Receive my own horse back again, when we had advanced 30 miles we came near to where a Rebel fort was. I Desird them to Go a little out of the way and avoid it. which they had promised to do[.] before we proceeded on our Journey one of them laid hold of my horses Bridle and told me to surrender myself a prisoner for they were

[26] Samuel Brown ("Plundering Sam Brown") from Tryon County (now Lincoln County), North Carolina, was a Loyalist militia captain. He pillaged throughout the Catawba River valley. He was assassinated by Whigs in the summer of 1780 on the Tyger River. Lyman C. Draper, *King's Mountain and Its Heroes: History of the Battle of King's Mountain, October 7th 1780, and the Events which Led to It* (Spartanburg, S. C.: The Reprint Company [reprint of 1881 edition], 1967), 134–39.

[27] The Tyger River is a tributary of the Broad River and runs through the present counties of Union and Spartanburg, South Carolina.

[28] The Green River is a tributary of the Broad River and is located in the present counties of Polk and Henderson, North Carolina.

[29] Samuel Smith was recorded as a Loyalist from the Ninety Six District. Confiscated Estates: Lists of Loyalists, 1783. Return of Colonel Thomas Brandon. South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, S. C.

[30] Probably Goin or Goins, Captain Going cannot be identified. Several men of this name submitted claims for service in the Revolution. Audited Accounts.

determined to confine me in the Fort. or Carry me to Ninety Six Goal about 80 miles off—they said that I was not in that Damn. Tory country at that time. I therefore after some conversation concluded to Submit for to be Disarmed at the time as they thratened Blowing a ball through me every Instant if I did not surrender which I did and on my arrival at the Fort I was stript of my clothes and confined close untill the morning when they tied my legs under a horses Belly and took me Before a Magistrate to commit me to Goal[.] however I was admited to bail for my Good Behavour and on my Return to the people who took my horse and clothes upon asking for them I was Retaken before another magistrate and comited to Goal under a Strong Guard—on my proceeding towards the Goal, the Guard was particularly Carefull about Securing me and in order for to do it the more affectually tied me with a Rope to a stout fellow who was one of them, when I found him asleep I took the opportunity to cut myself loose with a Knife or Reather with a pear of hors fleames which was accidentially left lying in the Room and throwing myself out of the window I made my escape—and took to the mountains for Shelter. I continued there for some time when Colo Mills[31] of the Loyal Militia on Knowing where I was proposed at Several Meetings we had to Raise a Company which we did of 500 men for the purpose of Going to St. Augustine[.] one of the Company proved faithless and Gave Information to the Rebels who Immediately—embodied themselves and took Colonel Mills prisoner with 16 of the Company and Carried them off to Solsbuary *Jail*. myself with 14 more pursued about 20 miles with an Intention of Rescuing them untill we were in sight of Gilbert Town[32] where the Rebels had a guard and finding we could not effect our purpose at that time our numbers being so small and theirs still Encreaseing we Returned Back—the Rebels pursued us all the night and in the morning we purceived them within Shot of us[.] we fired upon them, which they Returned, and Continued Skirmishing with them in the woods about an hour when they Retreated. what injury we Did them we could not tell. On our part we Suffered no loss. here our party seperated and I made way for Holston River[33] about 140 miles through the woods. I had proceded about 40 miles on my way when I was met by three men, one of which Knew me, he came to

[31] Colonel Ambrose Mills (1722-1780) was born in England and settled in South Carolina by 1755. In 1765 he moved to the Green River settlement in North Carolina. In 1776 he was with the Whig militia in the Indian campaign but by 1778 he had become a Loyalist. He was captured at Kings Mountain and executed by the Whigs on October 14, 1780. Draper, *King's Mountain*, pp. 481–82, 510–11.

[32] Gilbert Town was the former county seat of the present Rutherford County, North Caorlina.

[33] The Holston River is a major tributary of the Tennessee River and is located in east Tennessee.

me with Seeming friendship and on takeing me by the hand called his companions to assist him in Secureing me, which they Did: and made me prisoner[.] they tied my hands behind my Back and feet to each other under the horses Belly and took me to ninety Six Goal again—where I was close confined for 17 Days. during my Confinement I Got acquainted with a friend to Government who Lived there by talking with him through the Grates. he furnished me with two files and a Knife by which means I cut through the Iron Bars and escaped. I returnd again to Reburns Creek and after Remaining Some time in the woods there I was advised by my friends for to make peace with Cap[t] Gillian,[34] who Commanded a Company of Rebels on the Indian lines, as I durst not be seen by any of the Rebel party I Got one of my friends to go to him Desireing him for to meet me alone at a particular place and give him my word I would not injure him. We met accordingly and pased our words not for to Disturb or Injure each other. we continued our meetings in the woods Generally every Day or two for the Space of a month, untill we were discovered by some of his Company who threatned for to have him punnished for treating with me. however he still met me now and then and Introduced a friend of his to me who. he told me I might depend upon—one Day I observed an alteration in their Behaviours and asked them when at some distance if he meant for to Keep his word with me, he Replied by all means. We were all on horse back and I had my Rifle across my Saddle—when we were a going to part as I expected he suddenly seized my Rifle and the man who was with him laid hold of my horses Bridle[.] he presented my Rifle to my Breast and told me I was his prisoner or a Dead man. I was under the necessity to surrender and carried me again to my old Quarters at Ninety Six where we arrived the 11th of October 1778—I was stripped entirely naked thrown into Irons and Chained to the floor and Remained in that Situation untill 20th of December following, when I again made Shift for to Get my Irons off and having Sawed one of the Grates some time before—I again—escaped by means of a fellow prisoner who supplied me with some old Clothes of which I made a Rope to let myself Down[.] I Received a fall in getting Down but luckily did not hurt myself. The Goaler heard me fall and presented a musket at me out of a window. but I avoided him[.] he alarmed the Guard and they pursued me but hower I Got clear off. I found myself much hurt by a fall I got in their Chasing me. I got Back to Reburns Creek but was taken in three days and again Introduced at Ninety Six. I was Chained and Ironed as before in the Center of a Room of 30 feet Square forty five feet from the ground the Snow

[34] Probably ROBERT GILLAM of the Ninety Six District who was recorded as serving as a militia sergeant, captain, and major in 1779–81. Audited Accounts #2838. Colonial Land Plats, XI, 475.

beating in through the Roof with 4 Grates open day and night.—I Remained in this State Eleven Days when I Got my Chains of in the night of the 12th. the Goaler did not chain me down again, but I had still part of them. Remaining on one of my legs which weighed seven pounds and three Quarters. I continued loose in Goal until the 13th of February 1779 when I took a Barr out of the window in the night and pried one of the planks out of the floor of the Room and from thence went Down Stairs.—I found the door fast Secured but went to a breach I had formerly made in the Back of the Chimney and Got out. and one of my fellow prisoners made his escape with me also. and we Kept together for Some time after. We found a number of horses grasing in a field Belonging to a Company of Rebels under the Command of a Captain Farr,[35]—who had that night come into Town, we mounted each of us one and wrode off to Reburns Creek.—In our way we stopped at a house and furnished ourselves with a Rifle and a pair of pistols; we also supplied ourselves with Clotheing. by this time the neighborhood was alarmed and the Rebel militia Sent in pursuit of us—they laid Several ambuscades but with out effect and Continued embodied for Six months. But however I was so fortunate as for to escape, but my Companion was taken. the day after he was taken I was Riding through a piece of Timberd Woods when I Discovered a party of men, They Discovered me and pursued on full Speed for Seven miles when I was lucky enough for to Escape them but my horse falling threw me and I unfortunately lost my Rifle—an advertisement was then made public for—apprehending me and a Reward of Seventy Silver Dollars and 300 paper ones was offered as a Reward to take me. This made me Very Cautious notwithstanding which I was betrayed and fired upon by a party of Rebels in Number Sixteen.—I Received two Bullets in my Back one of which is not extracted.—I luckily Kept my Seat in the Saddle and Rode off after proceeding about 12 miles I turned my horse into the woods and Remained there eight days having no Support but herbs except three eggs, My wounds by this time being Very troublesome and offencive for the want of Dressing. I Got my horse again and moved about 12 miles to a friends house where on my arrival I made a signal which they Knew to acquaint them of my being alive, and a young Girl of fourteen years old came to me. But when she came near Enough to See me She was frighted So. at the Sight She Run off But I

[35] WILLIAM FARR (d. 1794) was settled on the Broad River by 1773. He entered the militia in 1776 in the Spartan Regiment, and by 1778 he was a captain of horsemen under Colonel Thomas Brandon. In 1780 he became a lieutenant colonel and served until 1782. In the latter part of the war he was in the brigade of General Andrew Pickens. Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Washington, D.C. Microfilm in South Carolina Archives. Audited Accounts #2308. Colonial Land Plats, XV, 97.

pursued after her on horse Back and telling her who I was She Said She new it was me But I was Dead and that I then was a Sperit and Stunk yet. I was a long time before I could Get her to come to me I looked So much like a Rack of nothing But Skin and bones and my wounds had never been Drest and my Clothes all Bloody[.] my misery and Situation was beyond Explanation and no friend in The world that I could depend on[.] however those people Seeing me in that Distrest Situation took the Greatest Care of me and Drest my wounds.—I then got assistance and Support and my wounds dressed and taken good Care off.—My horse having been Seen by Some of the Rebel party they concluded I was not Killed and wrote Several letters which they gave one of my friends offering to treat with me and advising me to Surrender threatening at the Same time in case I did not to Banish eight families of my Friends out of South Carolina. A limited time was given for my answer but it had expired before that I Received the letters, in Consequence of which their threats were put in Execution and the peoples properties *was* taken from them, and themselves Confined. on the Receipt of my Letters the people were liberated but their properties were Still Detained.

The Second day after I treated with the Colonel of the Rebel Militia, and had an express Sent of to Govenor Rutledge[36] at Charles Town about a week after his answer Came Back with a conditional pardon that which I had done Should be forgotten and that I should live quietly and peceably at Home, and be oblidged to pilot parties through the woods as occation might Require.

Before I excepted of these conditions I advised with my friends and Company who all approved of it as it conduced both to their Ease and Safety. I Remained at home a year and twelve Days and was Repeatedly urged for to Except of a Company in the Continental Service which I always Refused.[37]—after the Reduction of Charles Town[38] myself and one William Cuningham[39] concluded for to embody a party of men which we affected.

[36] JOHN RUTLEDGE (1739-1800) was a resident of Charleston and active in the Revolutionary movement from the time of the Stamp Act opposition. He served in the Provincial Assembly and the Continental Congress. In 1776 he was elected president of South Carolina and then became governor in 1779. After the war he was on the state supreme court. Ramsay, *History*, II, 269–72.

[37] Although Fanning refused the offer of a continental commission, he admitted cooperating with the Whigs by serving as a guide for the militia and was paid for this militia duty. Loyalist Claim (North Carolina): David Fanning.

[38] The siege of Charleston commenced in March, 1780, and the city surrendered on May 12. The capitulation of over 5,000 troops was the worst defeat suffered by American forces in the Revolution and demoralized the South Carolina Whigs.

[39] WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM ("Bloody Bill"), a cousin of Robert, was a native of Virginia. He lived in the Ninety Six District by 1775 and was in the Whig militia in 1775–76. After

we Determined for to take Col^{n} Williams[40] of the Rebel militia prisoner and then to Join Capt Parish[41] who was to Raise a Company and assist us—Col^{n} Williams got notice of it and pushed off and though we got Sight of him he escaped us.

We now found ourselves growing Strong. Numbers flocking Daily to us.—I then took the Kings proclamation and Distributed them through the country for upwards of 100 miles. Capt parish had the command of the party and marched up to Ninety Six which he took possession off without firing a Shot where I found him again the day after. we marched about 12 miles to General Williamsons[42] at whitehall who commaned a fort with 14 Swivils and two companies of provincial Troops. on our approach he met

defecting to the Loyalists he was involved in a vengeance slaying of a Whig militiaman. When Charleston fell he became a major in the Loyalist militia, and in 1781–82 he led a series of vicious raids through the upcountry. Upon the evacuation of Charleston he fled to East Florida where he joined a gang of bandits led by Daniel McGirtt. He was captured by Spanish authorities in 1785 and deported to the Bahamas. The following year he was in London, and in 1787 he had returned to Charleston, S. C., where he died. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, II, 3–6, 314–15. Troxler, "Migration of Loyalists," pp. 90–91. Sabine, *Loyalist Sketches*, I, 348–49. Draper, *King's Mountain*, pp. 83*n.*, 468.

[40] JAMES WILLIAMS (1740-1780), a native of Virginia, received land grants in Craven County by 1770. He was a member of the provincial congress of 1775 from the upper district between the Broad and Saluda rivers and represented his district in the General Assembly in the period 1776–78. In March, 1776, he was appointed a justice of the peace for Ninety Six District. He was present at the siege of Ninety Six as a militia captain and served after April 18, 1779, as colonel of the militia regiment of Ninety Six District. He saw action in the Cherokee campaign of 1776, at Stono Ferry, Savannah, Georgia, Musgrove's Mill, and was killed at Kings Mountain. Audited Accounts #8554. Colonial Land Plats. XXI, 418. 475–77. Drayton, *Memoirs*, II, 150. Hemphill and Wates, *Provincial Congresses*, pp. 24, 78. Hemphill, Wates, Olsberg, *General Assembly*, pp. 14, 285, 306, 314. Draper, *King's Mountain*, pp. 465–67, *passim*.

[41] Richard Pearis was acting as a lieutenant colonel of militia and was directing the effort to disarm and disperse the backcountry Whig forces. Loyalist Claim (South Carolina): Richard Pearis, XXVI, 371.

[42] ANDREW WILLIAMSON (d. 1787), of Whitehall in Ninety Six District, had a leading role in subduing the Loyalists in 1775. He commanded at the siege of Ninety Six and was defeated, but he was a commander of the South Carolina force in the Cherokee campaign the next year. He represented Ninety Six District in the Provincial Congresses of 1775 and was in the General Assembly from 1776 until 1780. He was a brigadier general of militia by 1779, commanding a brigade aiding Georgia and participating in the Whig defeat at Briar Creek. After his capitulation in June of 1780 he began to cooperate with the British, and according to Sabine he was known as the "Arnold of Carolina." He was captured and his estate was confiscated. William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 1886–90), X, 657–58, 340, 745–49. Clark, *State Records*, XI, 354–56; XIV, 276, 284; XV, 251. Drayton, *Memoirs*, I, 324, 353, 365–71, 399–403; II, 117–22, 125, 131, 148–49, 151–52, 338–60. Hemphill and Wates, *Provincial Congresses*, pp. 6, 24, 76. Hemphill, Wates, Olsberg, *General Assembly*, pp. 306, 314, 322. Sabine, *Loyalist Sketches*, II, 437. Confiscated Estates: Andrew Williamson #115. South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, S. C.

us within 3 miles of the fort attended by Several officers Requesting he might discharge the Troops and Receive protection for himself and them. we granted him what he Requested and took possion of the Fort and their arms which they piled up. after that they moved Out of the Garrison.—Three Days after that, Col[n] Pickins[43] with 300 men marched in and laid down their arms.—General Robert Cuningham of the Loyal Militia now took the command and formed a camp. we Kept scouting parties through the country and had many skirmeshes but none of consequence.—after the British american Troops had taken possession of ninety Six I continued scouting on the Indian lines untill Colonel Innis[44] forwarded his march up to Musgroves Mill on the Innoree River.[45] I then Joined them with a party of 14 men. the morning following the picketts were attacked by a party of Rebels. Col[n] Innis ordered us to advance and Support them. which we did, and followed them untill we arrived where the main body lay in ambush under the command of Colonel Williams. Col[n] Innis was unfortunatly wounded with Several other officers.[46] we engaged them for Some time and then Retreated about a mile and a quarter where we encamped and in the night marched off towards ninety Six under the command of Captain Depister,[47] and the next morning I and my Small party Returned back to the Indian lines. We continued Scouting on the lines for sometime untill I

[43] Andrew Pickens (1739-1817), a native of Pennsylvania, settled on Long Cane Creek by 1765. Before the Revolution he was a justice of the peace and a militia captain. He was at the siege of Ninety Six. By 1778 he was colonel of the militia for the Ninety Six District and was one of the Whig leaders at the battle of Kettle Creek in 1779. After the fall of Charleston he surrendered and was paroled. When his plantation was pillaged he left parole. Following his distinguished service at Cowpens he was commissioned a brigadier general and remained actively engaged during Greene's campaign in North and South Carolina. After the war he served in the General Assembly and a term in United States Congress 1793–95. Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928–37), VII, 558–59.

[44] Alexander Innes, a Scot, was an assistant commissary to the British agent to the Cherokees and was living with the Indians in 1777. He was a captain in the South Carolina Royalists in 1779 and was commissioned their colonel on January 20, 1780. After the fall of Charleston he became the inspector general of the provincial forces in the South. Following the British evacuation he went to Nova Scotia. Draper, *King's Mountain*, pp. 108–9n. Troxler, "Migration of Loyalists," pp. 281–82. Sabine, *Loyalist Sketches*, I, 566.

[45] The Enoree River is a tributary of the Broad River and forms the southern boundary of the present counties of Spartanburg and Union, South Carolina.

[46] Fanning's account of the battle of Musgrove's Mill on August 18, 1780, is essentially verified by Whig sources. The Whigs were commanded by Colonels Elijah Clarke, Isaac Shelby, and James Williams. The Loyalists were drawn into a concealed ambush, and Innes was wounded at a crucial moment, causing his battle line to fall back. Ramsay, *History*, I, 202. Draper, *King's Mountain*, pp. 103–22, 504–5.

[47] Abraham Depeyster (1753-1799), from New York, was a captain in the New York Volunteers, serving in the siege of Charleston, Musgrove's Mill, and as second in command at Kings Mountain. After the war he went to St. John, New Brunswick, and was a colonel in

met with Cap[t] Parish of the British ameriacan South Carolina Regm[t] who gave me a list of Several Soldiers that had permission for to visit their friends in the country on the Return from Florida to ninety Six. I was Desired by him for to give them notice for to Join their Regiments and on this Expedition I fell in with Major Forgessons party which was Defeated five Days afterwards.[48] The Rebels after this Begin to be numerous and troublesome and little or no Regulation amongst us. I made the best of my way to Deep River[49] in North Carolina where I Remained untill the month of February 1781.

I was During this time discovering the disposition of the people being Informed that Lord Cornwallis was marching that way, I Kept my Entintions Secret until I Received Certain accounts. I caused this advertisement to be published and used all my influence to get all the Loyalists to join me and Defend ourselves—when occation might Require.—A true Copy of which is here Set forth—

ADVERTISEMENT.

If Any of his Majestys loyal & faithfull Subjects able and willing to serve in the Royal North Carolina Regiment commaned by Lieutinant Col[n] Hamilton[50] are hereby requested to Repair to his Encampment.—The Bounty allowed for each man is three Guineas and the Terms of Engagement are, that he shall Serve During the Rebellion and within the Provinces of North and South Carolina and Virginia only that During his Service he shall be Intilled to

the provincial militia and treasurer of the province. Draper, *King's Mountain*, p. 479. Sabine, *Loyalist Sketches*, I, 372–74.

[48] The battle of Kings Mountain occurred on October 7, 1780, and resulted in the death of Major Patrick Ferguson and the destruction of his Loyalist corps by frontier Whig militia.

[49] The Deep River, a major tributary of the Cape Fear River, bisects Randolph County, North Carolina. The settlement to which Fanning refers here was probably the same settlement he had visited in 1778 on Brush Creek, a tributary of the Deep River that rises in western Chatham County and runs into Randolph County. Murphey Notes.

[50] John Hamilton, a prominent Scottish merchant of Halifax, North Carolina, left the state as a Loyalist refugee in October, 1777, and emigrated to New York. He was appointed lieutenant colonel commanding the Royal North Carolina Regiment which was to be raised from Highlanders at St. Augustine. The regiment's first action was at Savannah in 1779. When Charleston surrendered, Hamilton's regiment was posted at Camden. The regiment was in the battle of Camden in 1780 and the British invasion of North Carolina, and it served in the garrison at Wilmington under Major Craig. Hamilton and part of the regiment were detached to Virginia and surrendered at Yorktown. Following the surrender, Hamilton went to St. Augustine and later to Britain. He died there in 1817. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, II, 333–35. Sabine, *Loyalist Sketches*, I, 511–12. Troxler, "Migration of Loyalists," pp. 204–5.

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rupted Of their Arms or Provision[.] And Any Person that has Not Been In Arms As Above Riten If you Should want Provision or any Other Article from them to send to Either of Us and we will send a suffitiant Gard to se them Safe In and out[,] the quakers Excepted[,] and that we Will Not In the Mean Time Distress nor Disturb any Person abiding By your Law In the Sd District In their Person or Property

all Back Plunder Shall Be Void as It Is Inposable to Replace and Restore All the Plunder on any Side

our Request Is to have a free trade to Any Party with wagans or hors Back without arms with a Pass from any apointed offacer for Salt or Iron or any other necessary

and we Except the two Coxes Mils to Be free from all armies Belonging to America

any Man that has Been Returned A Continental without takeing the Bounty that has Been In Actual Arms as Above Mentioned Shall Return In the S^{d} District

If the Request Is Granted Above Reten I Should Request the Liberty to Send to Charlstown to Let them know what we are about and any Request you Should Ask In Reason I will Petition for and Perhaps A Peace might Be made for a twelve Month or More If you Desire It

If the Request Canot Be Granted Be Pleased to Let Me Know as quick as Possable and If You Dont Like to Comply with our tirms Send Me an Answer Back amediately that we May know what to Depend Upon So No More At Present But we Remain Friends In Behalf of his Majistys Troops[.] Sir we Remain your faithfull humble Sarvents

The Signers names on the other Side

David Fanning Col
John Reins Major
William Reins Capt
John Cagle Capt
William Price Capt
Jacob Manes Insign

[address]

To his Excellency governor Commander In Cheaf of the State
Thomas Buirk or the Next Commander at hand

David Fanning to Thomas Burke, February 26, 1782.
United States Revolution, Miscellany, 1774–1783, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

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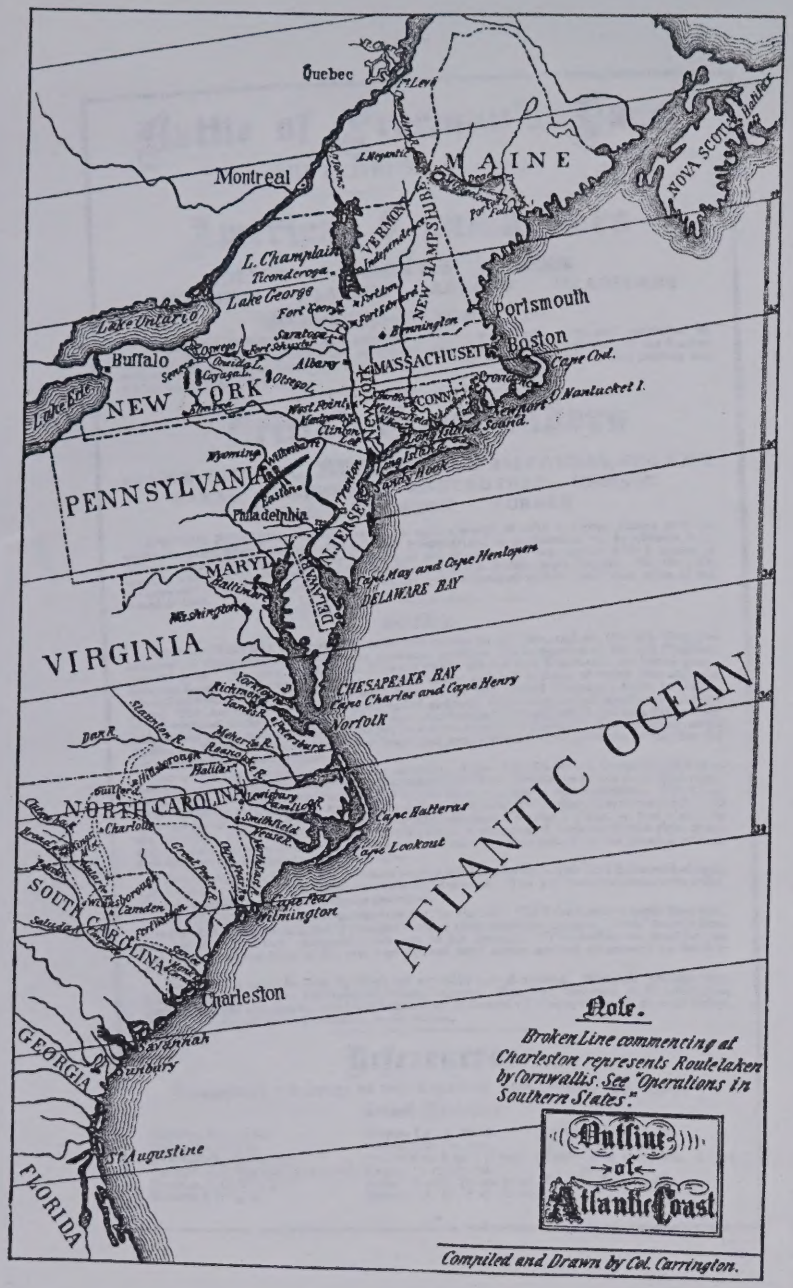


BATTLES

OF THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

1775–1781.

HISTORICAL AND MILITARY CRITICISM,

WITH

TOPOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION.

JUSTITIA ET PRÆTEREA NIL.

BY

HENRY B. CARRINGTON, M.A., LL.D.,

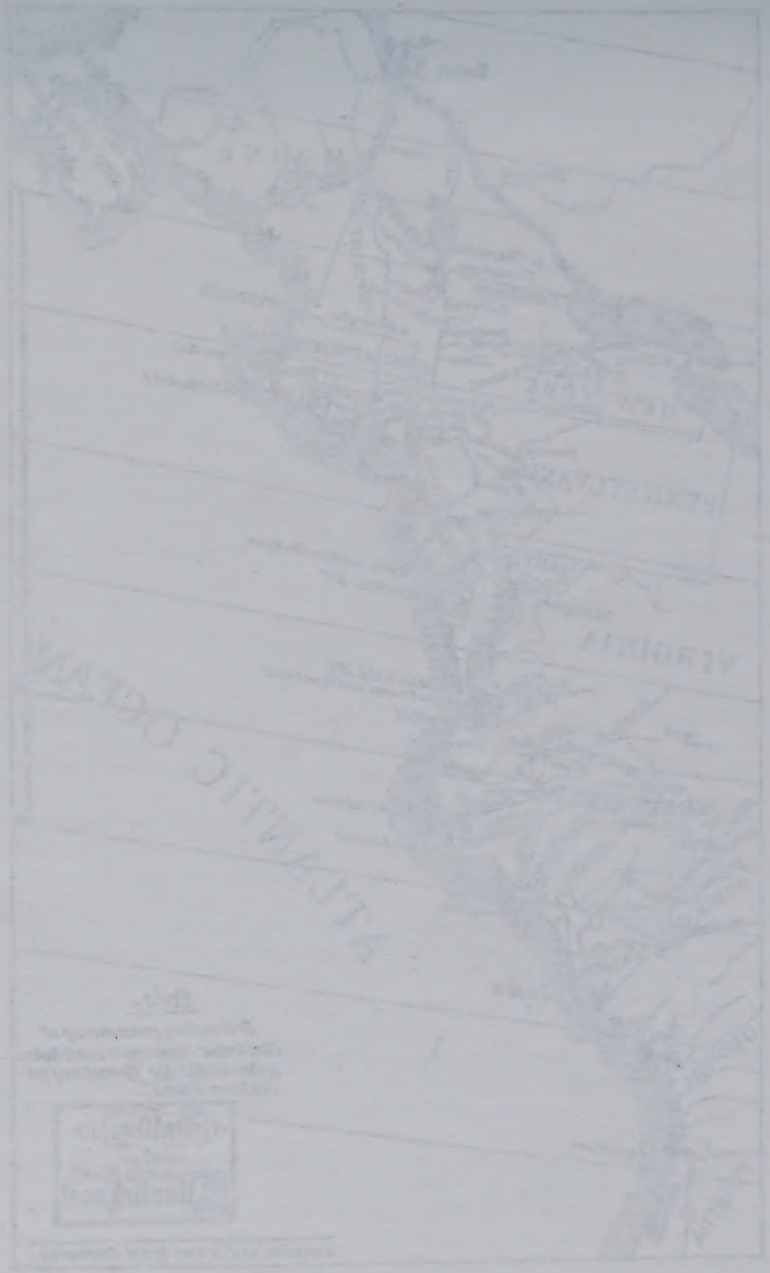
COLONEL UNITED STATES ARMY.

PROFESSOR OF MILITARY SCIENCE AND DYNAMIC ENGINEERING, WABASH COLLEGE, STATE OF INDIANA, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A. S. BARNES & COMPANY,

NEW YORK, CHICAGO, NEW ORLEANS.

1877.



Battle of Freeman's Farm

SEPTEMBER 17th, 1777

American Commanders

MORGAN **GATES** POOR
LIVINGSTON LEARNED ARNOLD DEARBORNE

Strength, 3,500. Casualties, 321

AMERICAN POSITION.—Gates succeeded Schuyler, August 19th, 1777, and established his camp, four miles north of Stillwater, and twenty-four above Albany, on the west bank of the Hudson river, at a point selected by Kosciusko, then Engineer in the American service. The position was strong, and adequately armed.

British Commanders

FRASER, RIEDESEL, **BURGOYNE** BALCARRAS, PHILLIPS
HANAU, HUMPHREYS, ANSTRUTHER, HAMAGE
JONES, KINGSTON, FORBES

BRITISH POSITION.—As early as August 14th, a bridge of rafts had been thrown over the river at Saratoga, where Gen. Burgoyne made his headquarters, in preparation for an advance upon Albany. This bridge was carried away by a rise of the Hudson, but was replaced by a bridge of boats, by which, on the 13th and 14th of September, the entire British army crossed. On the 15th, the army moved to Dovegat (Coveville), and on the 17th, encamped within about four miles of the American lines.

NOTES.

NOTE I.—Skirmishing occurred between the two armies on the 18th, and on the 19th Burgoyne advanced, in three columns, to attack the American position. Six companies of the 47th Regiment guarded camp. The *right wing*, under Fraser, with the 9th and 24th Regiments, the British grenadiers, the Rangers and Canadians, moved west, then south, and had a sharp skirmish near the spot where Fraser was killed Oct. 8th. *This wing* then moved east, toward Freeman's Farm, to aid the centre. The *centre*, under Burgoyne, including 62d and 20th Regiments, moved southward, and deployed westward, on the road, and waited for Fraser to complete his longer march and gain the position assigned him on the right, and, also, for the left to gain its designated position. The *left wing*, under Phillips and Riedesel, moved down the river bank, and then westward, to support the centre, but did not arrive until it was hotly engaged.

NOTE II.—The Americans early took the offensive. Upon Arnold's advice, Gates ordered him to send Morgan's Riflemen and Dearborne's Light Infantry from his division, to oppose the British *right*, which attempted to turn the American *left*. The movement was timely and successful. The Canadians were driven back, and both Americans and British, during the conflict, moved eastward, until they took part in the general engagement, which centered about Freeman's Farm, by four o'clock in the afternoon. At this time the whole of Arnold's division was engaged with the British right wing; and, as the Americans received reenforcements, it required the timely arrival of the Hessian column, with artillery, to resist their impetuous assaults.

The American *left*, at one time, advanced beyond the farm-house, which Earl Balcarras had fortified, and attempted to turn the position of the 62d Regiment. The 9th (reserve) came to its relief. The 20th and 62d Regiments were almost destroyed.

NOTE III.—This action left both parties worn out, for the day. The British *centre*, under Burgoyne, 1,100 men, had half its force killed or wounded through their desperate charges. Jones' battery (four guns) lost 36 out of 48 men. Sergeant Lamb says, in his Journal: "The conflict was dreadful; for four hours a constant blaze of fire was kept up, and both armies seemed determined on death or victory."

The American casualties were 65 killed, 218 wounded and 38 missing. Morgan's Riflemen were especially active, while the regiments of Cillery, Scammel, Hale, Van Cortland, H. B. Livingston, Cook and Latimer, with Dearborne's Light Infantry, all of Arnold's division, vied with those of Bailey, Wesson, Jackson and James Livingston, in the contest.

References:

CARRINGTON'S "BATTLES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION," pp. 335-346.

School Histories:

Anderson, ¶ 64; p. 84.
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Berard (Bush), ¶ 78; p. 157.
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Goodrich, S. G., ¶ —; p. —.
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Holmes, ¶ 9; p. 126-7.
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Ridpath, ¶ 15; p. 204.
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Stephens, A. H., ¶ 28; p. 201.
Swinton, ¶ 148; p. 235.
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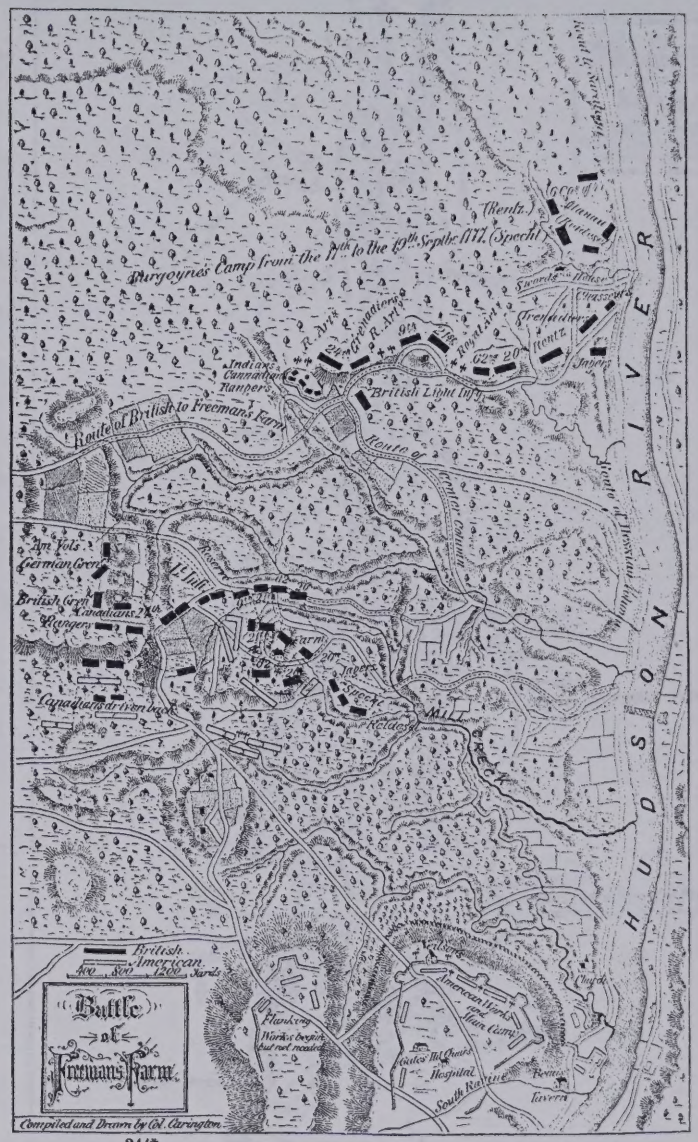


Burgoyne's Saratoga Campaign

From JUNE 20th to OCT. 19th, 1777

British Commander

BURGOYNE

Strength, 7,863.

NOTES. On the 20th of June, 1777, Burgoyne established his preliminary camp at Boquet River, and on the 21st held a conference with Indian auxiliaries, engaged by him, under direction of Lord Germaine, but against his own judgment.

The army left Crown Point, to which it had advanced on the 30th, in three divisions. The British infantry, grenadiers and 24th Foot, with Canadians, Indians and ten guns, marched down the west shore and encamped four miles from Ticonderoga. The German reserve and Hessian troops followed the east shore. Burgoyne accompanied the fleet.

American Commanders

SCHUYLER ST. CLAIR GATES

Strength, 3,446, including Militia.

NOTES. The first British objective was the capture of Ticonderoga. A bridge of boats communicated with Fort Independence. A boom of heavy logs and sunken timbers was deemed sufficient to prevent the passage of ships into South River. The Americans neglected to fortify Sugar Loaf Hill, deeming it inaccessible.

The investment began July 1st. During the night of July 4th, the British occupied Sugar Loaf Hill, south of the fort, commanding it, and named the new position, Fort Defiance. Riedesel also extended his lines, so as nearly to enclose Fort Independence. The fort became untenable. During the night of the 5th of July, the Americans started 220 batteaux, under Col. Long, for Skenesborough, with their surplus supplies and invalid troops.

At 3 A. M., July 6, when the retreat was well begun, a burning house at Mount Independence exposed the movement to the besiegers. General St. Clair had already started toward Castleton. Phillips sent Fraser in pursuit, and joined Burgoyne, who took shipping through South River for Skenesborough. Riedesel put a garrison in Fort Independence and followed Fraser. The British seamen cut through the bridge, and the fleet landed its troops at Skenesborough, shortly after Col. Long had landed and started for Fort Ann, 11 miles to the south.

On the 7th, Col. Long had a sharp engagement with Lieut.-Col. Hill and Major Forbes, near Fort Ann; but, being compelled to retreat, burned the fort and retired to Fort Edward.

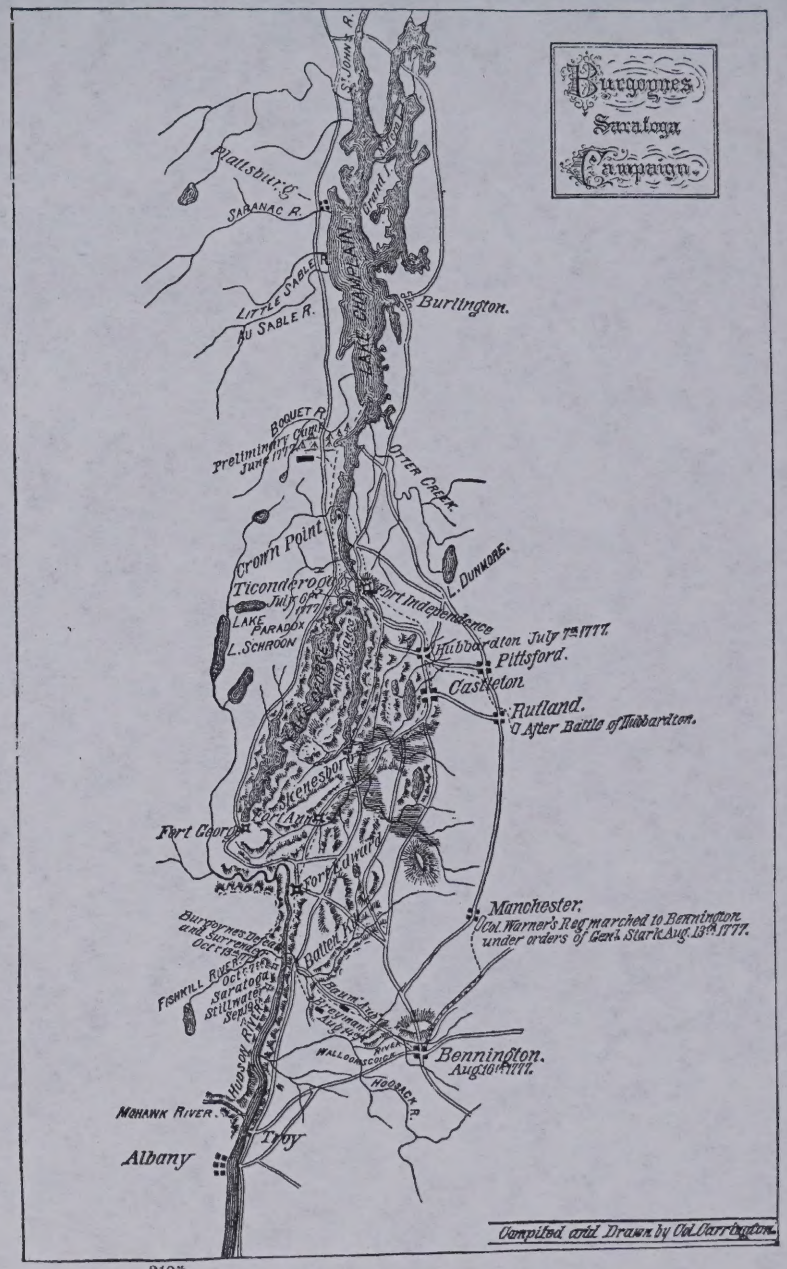
The British moved their heavy guns, by water, to Fort George, while Burgoyne halted at Skenesborough, and the left wing under Fraser and Riedesel pursued St. Clair.

References:

CARRINGTON'S "BATTLES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION," pp. 301-312.

School Histories:

Anderson, ¶ 57; p. 81.
Barnes, ¶ 1; p. 121.
Berard (Bush), ¶ 73; p. 156.
Goodrich, C. A. (Seaveys) ¶ 18; p. 126.
Goodrich, S. G., ¶ 4; p. 224.
Hassard, ¶ 5; p. 191.
Holmes, ¶ 5; p. 125.
Lossing, ¶ 18; p. 157.
Quackenbos, ¶ 334; p. 240.
Ridpath, ¶ 12; p. 202-3.
Sadlier (Excel.), ¶ 9; p. 189.
Stephens. A. H., ¶ 21; p. 198.
Swinton, ¶ 142; p. 134.
Scott, ¶ 12; p. 184.
Thalheimer (Eclectic), ¶ 262; p. 150.
Venable, ¶ 140; p. 106-7.



PEARIS FAMILY

Excerpts from-
Loyalists in the Southern Campaign of the Revolutionary War
by Murtie June Clark, Volume I (1981) Genealogical Publ.Co.

Pages 431(2), 432(2), 434, 493-4, 497-8-9 and 500 refer to Captain Richard Pearis. Note also various references to Loyal Refugees of 96 District George Nealy and Christopher Nealy--also seen as Major/Lt. Colonels. It is unknown whether they could have been descendants or in-laws of Richard's sister, Christian (Pearis) Nealy. There are many references to General Robert Cunningham. Richard's son and daughter married the General's son and daughter.

LOYALISTS IN THE SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN, VOLUME I

Pay Bill, for and agreeable to Return made for the Companies of Captain Richard Pearis and Captain William McIntosh, Loyal Refugees, from 30 Mar to 30 Apr 1779, for 32 days or 1 month and 2 days

2 Captains at 10/ per day each		Ł 32.0.0
4 Lieutenants at 5/ per day each		32.0.0
2 Ensigns at 4/ per day each		12.16.0
6 Sergeants at 60/ per month each		19.4.0
2 Drummers)		
2 Fifers)- 10 men at 50/ per month		26.13.4
6 Corporals)		
94 rank and file)		
6 contingent men)- 100 men at 40/ per month each		213.6.8
Total pay if company were full		336.0.0
Deduct for 1 Sergeant short	Ł 3.4.0	
Deduct for 62 rank and file short	Ł132.5.4	135.9.4
Total pay (for both companies which are not up to strength)		Ł200.10.8

Received, Pensacola, 30 Apr 1779, from the Honorable Andrew Rainsford, Esquire, John Mitchell, Robert Tait, Alexander Macullogh, and David Holmes, Esquire, Commissioners, for exercising the office of His Majesty's Sole Agent for and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, a set bill of exchange of this date, at 30 days sight, on the right Honorable, the Lord's Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury for the sum of 200 pounds, 10 shillings, 8 pence, sterling, in full of the above pay bill, having signed 4 receipts of this tenor and date.

signed: William McIntosh, Captain
Loyal Refugees

Return of Two Companies of Loyal Refugees, whereof, the late Honorable John Stuart, Esquire, His Majesty's Sole Agent and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern District of North America (who died March 21st), was Colonel from 30 Mar to 30 Apr 1779, both days included, their Headquarters at Natchez:

Captain William McIntosh	1-2-1-1-2-2-9-1-0-3-3-0-3-0-19-0-0-31-0-0-0-0
Captain Richard Pearis	0-2-0-0-2-1-10-0-0-7-0-0-0-2-19-1-0-31-0-0-0-0-
Total	1-4-1-1-4-3-19-1-0-10-3-0-3-2-38-1-0-62-0-0-0-0-

Key to Columnar Headings:
Commissioned Officers Present:
1. Captain 2. Lieutenant 3. Ensign
Staff Officers Present: 4. Surgeon
Non-commissioned Officers Present and Fit for Duty:
5. Sergeant 6. Drummer and Fifer
Rank and File Present and Fit for Duty: 7. Total
8. Sick in Quarters
9. Sick in Hospital
10. On Command
11. Recruiting
12. Recruits
13. Volunteers
14. On Furlough
15. Total
Wanted to Complete Allowance:
16. Sergeant 17. Drummer and Fifer
Alterations Since last Return:
18. Rank and File
19. Enlisted
20. Dead
21. Discharged
22. Deserted

PENSACOLA FLORIDA LOYALISTS

Return of Two Companies of Loyal Refugees Whereof the late Honorable John Stuart, Esquire, His Majesty's late Sole Agent and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, for the Southern District of North America, (who died 21 March last) was Colonel, from 1 May to 30 Jun 1779, both days included, their old Headquarters at Natchez:

Captain William McIntosh	0-2-1-1-2-2-10-1-0-6-3-0-23-0-0-27-4-0-0-0-0-0
Captain Richard Pearis	0-2-0-0-2-1-13-0-0-4-0-0-0-2-19-1-0-31-0-0-0-0
Total	0-4-1-1-4-3-23-1-0-10-3-0-3-2-42-1-0-58-4-0-0-0

Captain Pearis, his fifer and 2 rank and file by Colonel Stuart's orders, on duty in East Florida
Captain McIntosh at Pensacola, by leave, to wait on Major General Campbell, for orders and settlement of accounts
Thomas Newman, Ensign, imprisoned at New Orleans on attempting to join his corps with recruits
A Sergeant and two rank and file, by Colonel Stuart's leave, at Pensacola.

Signed: William McIntosh, Captain
Loyal Refugees
(SEE Columnar Heading above)

Pay Bill for and agreeable to the return made for Captain Richard Pearis and Captain William McIntosh, Loyal Refugees, from 1 May to 30 Jun 1779, for 61 days

2 Captains at 10/ per day each	Ł 61.0.0
4 Lieutenants at 5/ per day each	61.0.0
2 Ensigns at 4/ per day each	24.8.0
6 Sergeants at 60/ per month each	36.0.0
2 Drummers)	
2 Fifers)-10 men at 40/ per month	
6 Corporals)	400.0.0
Total Pay if the Companies were full	632.8.0
Deduct from 1 Sergeant short Ł6	
Deduct from 58 rank and file L232	238.0.0
As the Companies are not full, total pay is only	Ł394.8.0

Received, Pensacola, 30 Jun 1779, from the Honorable Andrew Rainsford, Esq, John Mitchell, Robert Tait, Alexander MacCullagh and David Holmes, Esquires. Commissioners for exercising the office of His Majesty's sole Agent for Superintendent of Indian Affairs a sett of Bills of Exchange of this date, at 30 days sight on the Right Honorable the Lords Commissioner of His Majesty's Treasury for the sum of 394 pounds, 8 shillings, sterling, in full of the above pay bill, having signed 4 receipts of this tenor and date.

signed: William McIntosh, Captain
Loyal Refugees

On command, Captain Pearis, his Fifer and 2 rank and file, by Colonel Stuart's orders, on duty in East Florida
On furlough, a Sergeant and 2 Rank and File by Colonel Stuart's leave, at Pensacola
Not Joined, Thomas Newman, Ensign, imprisoned at New Orleans, on attempting to join his Corps with recruits

Excerpts from Loyalists in the Southern Campaign of the Revolutio

Abstract of Pay due to Captain Richard Pearis from 3d May 1780 being the time he was ordered by His Excellency, Sir Henry Clinton, to Ninety Six District to raise and embody the friends of government, until 20 Oct 1781, being 527 days at 10 shillings per day ---------- ₤ 263.10.0

Expences in the execution of the above duty, vizt:

2 horses killed and 1 mare taken		30.0.0
Express to General Williamson at Augusta by John Cunningham		4.0.0
Express to General Williamson, by Samuel Meeks		5.0.0
Express to Colonel Brown in Georgia		2.3.6
Express to Colonel Innes		3.5.0
Express to Captain Rysner		2.3.6
Total	₤	310.2.0
Received from General Leslie in part of this account		100.0.0
Balance due	₤	210.2.0

REFUGEES

Militia Officers at Present Refugees in Charlestown, SC, of the South and North Carolina Regiments, etc.

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
2	Major	Devaux, Andrew, 101 days, 20 Nov-28 Feb 1782	Beaufort County
3	"	Ford, Joseph, 263 days, 11 Jun-28 Feb 1782	Cheraws County
4	"	Gibbs, Zachariah, 285 days, 20 May-28 Feb 82	Ninety Six District
5	"	McLaurin, Evan, 333 days, 1 Apr 81-28 Feb 82	Dutch Fork
6	"	Wofford, Benjamin, 233 days, 11 Jul 81-20	Spartan Regiment Feb 82
7	"	Torrant, Thomas, 59 days, 1 Jan-28 Feb 82	North Carolina
1	Captain	Brockington, John, 263 days, 11 Jun-28 Feb 82	Cheraws District
2	"	Cunningham, John, 112 days, 9 Nov 81-28 Feb	Ninety Six District 1782
3	"	Lary, Darby, 286 days, 19 May 81-28 Feb 82	Ninety Six District
4	"	Rees, Benjamin, 280 days, 25 May 81-28 Feb 82	Santee
5	"	Rees, William, 280 days, 25 May-28 Feb 1782	Santee
6	"	✓ Pearis, Richard, 90 days, 1 Dec 81-28 Feb 82	Florida
7	"	Outerbridge, White, 243 days, 1 Jul 81-28 Feb	Charlestown, SC 1782
8	"	Millar, James, 200 days, 12 Aug-28 Feb 1782	Jackson's Creek

Militia Officers at Present Refugees in Charlestown, SC, 4 Jun 1782, 92 days, 1 Mar-31 May 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Major	Capers, Gabriel, Berkley County	
2	"	Deveaux, Andrew, Granville County	
3	"	Ford, James, Cheraws	
4	"	Gibbs, Zachariah, Ninety Six District	
5	"	McLaurin, Evan, Dutch Fork	
6	"	Wofford, Benjamin, Ninety Six District	
7	"	Tynes, Samuel, 515 days, 1 Jan 81-31 May 82	High Hills of Santee
8	"	Torrant, Thomas, NC	
1	Captain	Connoway, William, 35 days, 27 Apr-31 May 82	Ninety Six District
2	"	Cunningham, John, Ninety Six District	
3	"	Henderson, Robert, Black River	
4	"	Long, George, Ninety Six District	
5	"	Millar, James, Jackson's Creek	
6	"	Reisinger, Faight, Dutch Fork	
7	"	Rees, Benjamin, Santee	
8	"	Rees, William, Santee	
9	"	✓ Pearis, Richard, Ninety Six	
10	"	Outerbridge, White, Charlestown	
11	"	Lary, Darby, Ninety Six	

attest: Robert Gray, Colonel

REFUGEES

Abstract of Pay due Refugees of the First Class now in Charlestown, SC, from period mentioned to 30 Jun 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
2	Lieut Colonel	Ball, Elias, Jun., Craven County	
3	" "	Cunningham, Patrick, Ninety Six	
4	" "	Edghill, Thomas, Ninety Six	
5	" "	Fletchall, Thomas, Ninety Six	
6	" "	Galliard, Theodore, Craven County	
7	" "	Gregory, Benjamin, Ninety Six	
8	" "	Hamilton, John, Ninety Six	
9	" "	McKenzie, Robert, Colleton County	
10	" "	Kelling, Smith, Ninety Six	
11	" "	Vernon, James, Ninety Six	
1	Major	Capers, Gabriel, Berkley County	
2	"	Deveaux, Andrew, Granville County	
3	"	Ford, James, Cheraws	
4	"	Gibbs, Zachariah, Ninety Six	
5	"	McLaurin, Evan, Ninety Six	
6	"	Wofford, Benjamin, Ninety Six	
7	"	Tynes, Samuel, Santee	
8	"	Torrant, Thomas, North Carolina	
1	Captain	Cunningham, John, Ninety Six	
2	"	Henderson, Robert, Black River	
3	"	Long, George, Ninety Six	
4	"	Millar, James, Jackson's Creek	
5	"	Reisinger, Faight, Ninety Six	
6	"	Rees, Benjamin, Santee	
7	"	Rees, William, Santee	
8	"	✓ Pearis, Richard, Ninety Six	
9	"	Outerbridge, White, Charlestown	
10	"	Connoway, William, Ninety Six	
11	"	Lary, Darby, Ninety Six	
1	Refugee	Bruce, Donald, Orangeburgh	
2	"	Byerly, Casper, Broad River	
3	"	Crowther, Mary, Ninety Six	
4	"	Fridig, David, Congarees	
5	"	Legge, Edward, Ashley Ferry	
6	"	Mathews, Edmund, Rev., Amelia	
7	"	Stewart, James, Rev., Georgetown	
8	"	Lechemere, Nicholas, Granville County, died	widow rec'd his pay

Additions:

1	Major	Cunningham, Andrew	
2	"	Stanyarne, Joseph, Colleton County	
3	"	Harvey, _____, Colleton County	
4	"	Phipps, _____, Colleton County	
5	"	Seabrooke, _____, St. John's, Colleton Ct	

Additions:

1	Colonel	Clary, Daniel, Ninety Six	
2	Lieut Colonel	Cunningham, Andrew, Ninety Six	
3	" "	Ballantyne, William, Ninety Six	
4	" "	✓ Nealy, Christopher, Ninety Six	
5	" "	✓ Neally, George, Ninety Six	
6	Brig General	✓ Cunningham, Robert, 30 days, 30 Jun 1782	

Additions:

1	Colonel	Fisher, John, command of Orangeburgh Militi	on James Island, 30 days pay
2	Captain	Connoway, _____, left town on 14 Jun, 13	days pay deducted
3	Captain	Yarborough, James D., 122 days, 1 Mar-30 Ju	
4	Captain	Legge, Ben S., 122 days, 1 Mar-30 Jun 1782	
5	Refugee	Balfour, Mrs. _____, 61 days, 1 May-30 Jun	

Refugees of the First Class in Charlestown, SC, July 1782, 30 days, 1 Jun-30 Jun 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Brig General	Cunningham, Robert, Ninety Six District	
1	Colonel	Ball, Elias, Sen., Craven County	
2	"	Buffington, Moses, Ninety Six District	
3	"	Cassels, James, Georgetown	
4	"	Cary, James, 181 days, 1 Jan-30 Jun 1782	Ninety Six
5	"	Gray, Robert, Cheraws	
6	"	Howarth, Probarth, Fort Johnstone	
7	"	King, Richard, Long Cane	
8	"	Phillips, John, Jackson's Creek	
9	"	Plummer, Daniel, Ninety Six	
10	"	Wright, Gideon, North Carolina	
11	"	Fisher, John, Orangeburgh	
1	Lieut Colonel	Ball, Elias, Jun., Craven County	
2	" "	Ballantyne, William, 181 days, 1 Jan-30 Jun	Ninety Six District
3	" "	Cunningham, Andrew, Ninety Six District	
4	" "	Cunningham, Patrick, Ninety Six District	
5	" "	Edghill, Thomas, Ninety Six District	
6	" "	Fletchall, Thomas, Ninety Six District	
7	" "	Gilliard, Theodore, Craven County	
8	" "	Gregory, Benjamin, Ninety Six District	
9	" "	Hamilton, John, Ninety Six District	
10	" "	McKenzie, Robert, Colleton County	
11	" "	Smith, Keeling, Ninety Six District	
12	" "	Vernon, James, Ninety Six District	
1	Major	Capers, Gabriel, Berkley County	
2	"	Deveaux, Andrew, Granville County	
3	"	Ford, James, Cheraws	
4	"	Gibbs, Zachariah, Ninety Six District	
5	"	McLaurin, Evan, Ninety Six District	
6	"	✓ Nealy, Christopher, Ninety Six District	
7	"	Wofford, Benjamin, Ninety Six District	
8	"	Tynes, Samuel, Santee	
9	"	Torrant, Thomas, North Carolina	
1	Captain	Connoway, William, left town 17 Jan 1782,	Ninety Six 17 days pay
2	"	Cunningham, John, Ninety Six	
3	"	Cunningham, Andrew, Colleton County	
4	"	Harvey, Alexander, Colleton County	
5	"	Henderson, Robert, Black River	
6	"	Leary, Darby, Ninety Six District	
7	"	Long, George, Ninety Six District	
8	"	Millar, James, Jackson County	
9	"	Outerbridge, White, Charlestown, SC	
10	"	Phipps, William, St. John's, Colleton County	
11	"	✓ Pearis, Richard, Ninety Six District	
12	"	Reisinger, Faight, Ninety Six District	
13	"	Rees, Benjamin, Santee	

Abstract of Pay due to Captain Richard Pearis from 3d May 1780 being the time he was ordered by His Excellency, Sir Henry Clinton, to Ninety Six District to raise and embody the friends of government, until 20 Oct 1781, being 527 days at 10 shillings per day ---------- £ 263.10.0

Expences in the execution of the above duty, vizt:

2 horses killed and 1 mare taken	30.0.0
Express to General Williamson at Augusta by John Cunningham	4.0.0
Express to General Williamson, by Samuel Meeks	5.0.0
Express to Colonel Brown in Georgia	2.3.6
Express to Colonel Innes	3.5.0
Express to Captain Rysner	2.3.6
Total	£ 310.2.0
Received from General Leslie in part of this account	100.0.0
Balance due	£ 210.2.0

REFUGEES

Militia Officers at Present Refugees in Charlestown, SC, of the South and North Carolina Regiments, etc.

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
2	Major	Devaux, Andrew,	101 days, 20 Nov-28 Feb 1782 Beaufort County
3	"	Ford, Joseph,	263 days, 11 Jun-28 Feb 1782 Cheraws County
4	"	Gibbs, Zachariah,	285 days, 20 May-28 Feb 82 Ninety Six District
5	"	McLaurin, Evan,	333 days, 1 Apr 81-28 Feb 82 Dutch Fork
6	"	Wofford, Benjamin,	233 days, 11 Jul 81-20 Spartan Regiment Feb 82
7	"	Torrant, Thomas,	59 days, 1 Jan-28 Feb 82 North Carolina
1	Captain	Brockington, John,	263 days, 11 Jun-28 Feb 82 Cheraws District
2	"	Cunningham, John,	112 days, 9 Nov 81-28 Feb Ninety Six District 1782
3	"	Lary, Darby,	286 days, 19 May 81-28 Feb 82 Ninety Six District
4	"	Rees, Benjamin,	280 days, 25 May 81-28 Feb 82 Santee
5	"	Rees, William,	280 days, 25 May-28 Feb 1782 Santee
6	"	Pearis, Richard,	90 days, 1 Dec 81-28 Feb 82 Florida
7	"	Outerbridge, White,	243 days, 1 Jul 81-28 Feb Charlestown, SC 1782
8	"	Millar, James,	200 days, 12 Aug-28 Feb 1782 Jackson's Creek

Militia Officers at Present Refugees in Charlestown, SC, 4 Jun 1782, 92 days, 1 Mar-31 May 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Major	Capers, Gabriel,	Berkley County
2	"	Deveaux, Andrew,	Granville County
3	"	Ford, James,	Cheraws
4	"	Gibbs, Zachariah,	Ninety Six District
5	"	McLaurin, Evan,	Dutch Fork
6	"	Wofford, Benjamin,	Ninety Six District
7	"	Tynes, Samuel,	515 days, 1 Jan 81-31 May 82 High Hills of Santee
8	"	Torrant, Thomas,	NC
1	Captain	Connoway, William,	35 days, 27 Apr-31 May 82 Ninety Six District
2	"	Cunningham, John,	Ninety Six District
3	"	Henderson, Robert,	Black River
4	"	Long, George,	Ninety Six District
5	"	Millar, James,	Jackson's Creek
6	"	Reisinger, Faight,	Dutch Fork
7	"	Rees, Benjamin,	Santee
8	"	Rees, William,	Santee
9	"	Pearis, Richard,	Ninety Six
10	"	Outerbridge, White,	Charlestown
11	"	Lary, Darby,	Ninety Six

attest: Robert Gray, Colonel

REFUGEES

Abstract of Pay due Refugees of the First Class now in Charlestown, SC, from period mentioned to 30 Jun 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
2	Lieut Colonel	Ball, Elias, Jun.,	Craven County
3	" "	Cunningham, Patrick,	Ninety Six
4	" "	Edghill, Thomas,	Ninety Six
5	" "	Fletchall, Thomas,	Ninety Six
6	" "	Galliard, Theodore,	Craven County
7	" "	Gregory, Benjamin,	Ninety Six
8	" "	Hamilton, John,	Ninety Six
9	" "	McKenzie, Robert,	Colleton County
10	" "	Kelling, Smith,	Ninety Six
11	" "	Vernon, James,	Ninety Six
1	Major	Capers, Gabriel,	Berkley County
2	"	Deveaux, Andrew,	Granville County
3	"	Ford, James,	Cheraws
4	"	Gibbs, Zachariah,	Ninety Six
5	"	McLaurin, Evan,	Ninety Six
6	"	Wofford, Benjamin,	Ninety Six
7	"	Tynes, Samuel,	Santee
8	"	Torrant, Thomas,	North Carolina
1	Captain	Cunningham, John,	Ninety Six
2	"	Henderson, Robert,	Black River
3	"	Long, George,	Ninety Six
4	"	Millar, James,	Jackson's Creek
5	"	Reisinger, Faight,	Ninety Six
6	"	Rees, Benjamin,	Santee
7	"	Rees, William,	Santee
8	"	Pearis, Richard,	Ninety Six
9	"	Outerbridge, White,	Charlestown
10	"	Connoway, William,	Ninety Six
11	"	Lary, Darby,	Ninety Six
1	Refugee	Bruce, Donald,	Orangeburgh
2	"	Byerly, Casper,	Broad River
3	"	Crowther, Mary,	Ninety Six
4	"	Fridig, David,	Congarees
5	"	Legge, Edward,	Ashley Ferry
6	"	Mathews, Edmund, Rev.,	Amelia
7	"	Stewart, James, Rev.,	Georgetown
8	"	Lechemere, Nicholas,	Granville County, died, widow rec'd his pay

Additions:

1	Major	Cunningham, Andrew	
2	"	Stanyarne, Joseph,	Colleton County
3	"	Harvey, _____,	Colleton County
4	"	Phipps, _____,	Colleton County
5	"	Seabrooke, _____,	St. John's, Colleton Cty

Additions:

1	Colonel	Clary, Daniel,	Ninety Six
2	Lieut Colonel	Cunningham, Andrew,	Ninety Six
3	" "	Ballantyne, William,	Ninety Six
4	" "	Nealy, Christopher,	Ninety Six
5	" "	Neally, George,	Ninety Six
6	Brig General	Cunningham, Robert,	30 days, 30 Jun 1782

Additions:

1	Colonel	Fisher, John,	command of Orangeburgh Militia on James Island, 30 days pay
2	Captain	Connoway, _____,	left town on 14 Jun, 13 days pay deducted
3	Captain	Yarborough, James D.,	122 days, 1 Mar-30 Jun
4	Captain	Legge, Ben S.,	122 days, 1 Mar-30 Jun 1782
5	Refugee	Balfour, Mrs. _____,	61 days, 1 May-30 Jun

Refugees of the First Class in Charlestown, SC, July 1782, 30 days, 1 Jun-30 Jun 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Brig General	Cunningham, Robert,	Ninety Six District
1	Colonel	Ball, Elias, Sen.,	Craven County
2	"	Buffington, Moses,	Ninety Six District
3	"	Cassels, James,	Georgetown
4	"	Cary, James,	181 days, 1 Jan-30 Jun 1782 Ninety Six
5	"	Gray, Robert,	Cheraws
6	"	Howarth, Probarth,	Fort Johnstone
7	"	King, Richard,	Long Cane
8	"	Phillips, John,	Jackson's Creek
9	"	Plummer, Daniel,	Ninety Six
10	"	Wright, Gideon,	North Carolina
11	"	Fisher, John,	Orangeburgh
1	Lieut Colonel	Ball, Elias, Jun.,	Craven County
2	" "	Ballantyne, William,	181 days, 1 Jan-30 Jun Ninety Six District
3	" "	Cunningham, Andrew,	Ninety Six District
4	" "	Cunningham, Patrick,	Ninety Six District
5	" "	Edghill, Thomas,	Ninety Six District
6	" "	Fletchall, Thomas,	Ninety Six District
7	" "	Gilliard, Theodore,	Craven County
8	" "	Gregory, Benjamin,	Ninety Six District
9	" "	Hamilton, John,	Ninety Six District
10	" "	McKenzie, Robert,	Colleton County
11	" "	Smith, Keeling,	Ninety Six District
12	" "	Vernon, James,	Ninety Six District
1	Major	Capers, Gabriel,	Berkley County
2	"	Deveaux, Andrew,	Granville County
3	"	Ford, James,	Cheraws
4	"	Gibbs, Zachariah,	Ninety Six District
5	"	McLaurin, Evan,	Ninety Six District
6	"	Nealy, Christopher,	Ninety Six District
7	"	Wofford, Benjamin,	Ninety Six District
8	"	Tynes, Samuel,	Santee
9	"	Torrant, Thomas,	North Carolina
1	Captain	Connoway, William,	left town 17 Jan 1782, Ninety Six 17 days pay
2	"	Cunningham, John,	Ninety Six
3	"	Cunningham, Andrew,	Colleton County
4	"	Harvey, Alexander,	Colleton County
5	"	Henderson, Robert,	Black River
6	"	Leary, Darby,	Ninety Six District
7	"	Long, George,	Ninety Six District
8	"	Millar, James,	Jackson County
9	"	Outerbridge, White,	Charlestown, SC
10	"	Phipps, William,	St. John's, Colleton County
11	"	Pearis, Richard,	Ninety Six District
12	"	Reisinger, Faight,	Ninety Six District
13	"	Rees, Benjamin,	Santee

REFUGEES

Pay Abstract, Refugees of First Class, Charlestown, SC, 62 days, 1 Jul-31 Aug 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
5	Lieut Colonel	Fletchall, Thomas, Ninety Six District	
6	" "	Galliard, Theodore, Berkley County	
7	" "	Gregory, Benjamin, died, 1 Jul-31 Jul 1782 Ninety Six District	
8	" "	Hamilton, John, 62 days, 1 Jul-31 Aug 1782 Ninety Six District	
9	" "	McKenzie, Robert, Colleton County	
10	" "	Vernon, James, Ninety Six District	
1	Major	Capers, Gabriel, Berkley County	
2	"	Deveaux, Andrew, Granville County	
3	"	Gibbs, Zachariah, Ninety Six District	
4	"	Nealy, Christopher, Ninety Six District	
5	"	Wofford, Benjamin, Ninety Six District	
6	"	Tynes, Samuel, Camden District	
7	"	Torrant, Thomas, North Carolina	
1	Captain	Cunningham, John, Ninety Six District	
2	"	Cunningham, Andrew, Colleton County	
3	"	Harvey, Alexander, Colleton County	
4	"	Henderson, Robert, Black River	
5	"	Leary, Darby, Ninety Six District	
6	"	Long, George, Jackson's Creek	
7	"	Millar, James, Jackson's Creek	
8	"	Outerbridge, White, Charlestown	
9	"	Phipps, William, Colleton County	
10	"	Pearis, Richard, Ninety Six District	
11	"	Reisinger, Faight, Ninety Six District	
12	"	Rees, Benjamin, Santee	
13	"	Seabrooke, Joseph, St. Johns, Colleton	
14	"	Stanyarne, Joseph, St. Johns, Colleton	
15	"	Hendrick, William, Ninety Six District	
1	Captain	Legge, Benjamin Smith, Colleton County	
2	"	Yarborough, J. D., Colleton County	
1	Refugee	Antrobus, Mr. Isaac, Georgia	
2	"	Brailsford, Mrs., and family (John)	
3	"	Bruce, Donald, 46 days, 1 Jul-15 Aug, joined Orangeburgh	the enemy
4	"	Byerly, Casper, Broad River	
5	"	Balfour, Mrs. Mary Ann, Cheraws	
6	"	Crowther, Mrs. Mary, Ninety Six District	
7	"	Deveaux, Andrew, Sen., Granville County	
8	"	Fridig, David, Congarees	
9	"	Legge, Edward, Colleton	
10	"	Lechemere, Mrs. Nicholas, Granville	
11	"	McLaurin, Mrs., _____, Dutch Fork	
12	"	Mathews, Edmund, Rev., Amelia	
13	"	Neally, George, Ninety Six District	
14	"	Stewart, James, Rev., Georgetown	
Additions:			
1	Colonel	McNeil, Hector	
2	"	McKay, Archibald	
1	Captain	Molloy, Daniel	

(Note: Major McLaurin is deceased.)

attest: Robert Gray, Pay Master Militia
Edward Scott, Secretary

Refugees of the First Class in Charlestown, SC, 16 Sept 1782, 62 days, 1 Jul-31 Aug 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Brig General	Cunningham, Robert, Ninety Six District	
1	Colonel	Ball, Elias, Sen., Craven County	
2	"	Buffington, Moses, 55 days, 1 Jul-24 Aug Ninety Six District	died
3	"	Cary, James, Camden	
4	"	Cassels, James, Georgetown	
5	"	Clary, Daniel, Ninety Six	
6	"	Gray, Robert, Cheraws	
7	"	King, Richard, Long Cane	
8	"	Phillips, John, Jackson's Creek	
9	"	Plummer, Daniel, Ninety Six	
10	"	Wright, Gideon, 40 days, 1 Jul-9 Aug, died North Carolina	
11	"	Howarth, Probarth, 27 days, 1 Jul-27 Jul 82 Fort Johnstone	
1	Lieut Colonel	Ball, Elias, Jun., Craven County	
2	" "	Cunningham, Andrew, Ninety Six	
3	" "	Cunningham, Patrick, Ninety Six	
4	" "	Edghill, Thomas, Ninety Six	
5	" "	Fletchall, Thomas, Ninety Six	
6	" "	Gallard, Theodore, Berkley County	
7	" "	Gregory, Benjamin, 1 Jul-31 Jul, 30 days, Ninety Six District	died
8	" "	Hamilton, John, Ninety Six District	
9	" "	McKenzie, Robert, Colleton County	
10	" "	Person, James, Ninety Six	
1	Major	Capers, Gabriel, Berkley County	
2	"	Deveaux, Andrew, Granville County	
3	"	Gibbs, Zachariah, Ninety Six	
4	"	Nealy, Christopher, Ninety Six	
5	"	Wofford, Benjamin, Ninety Six	
6	"	Tynes, Samuel, Camden	
7	"	Torrant, Thomas, North Carolina	
1	Captain	Cunningham, John, Ninety Six	
2	"	Cunningham, Andrew, Colleton	
3	"	Harvey, Alexander, Colleton	
4	"	Henderson, Robert, Black River	
5	"	Hendrick, William, Ninety Six	
6	"	Leary, Darby, Ninety Six	
7	"	Long, George, Ninety Six	
8	"	Millar, James, Jackson's Creek	
9	"	Outerbridge, White, Charlestown	
10	"	Phipps, William, Colleton County	
11	"	Pearis, Richard, Ninety Six	
12	"	Reisinger, Faight, Ninety Six	
13	"	Rees, Benjamin, Santee	
14	"	Rees, William, Santee	
15	"	Seabrooks, Joseph, St. Johns, Colleton	
16	"	Stanyarn, Joseph, St. Johns, Colleton	
1	Captain	Legge, Benjamin Smith, Colleton County	
2	"	Yarborough, J. D., Colleton County	
1	Refugee	Antrobus, Isaac, Georgia	
2	"	Brailsford, Mrs. and family	
3	"	Bruce, Donald, 1 Jul-15 Aug, 46 days, joined Orangeburgh	the enemy
4	"	Byerly, Casper, Broad River	
5	"	Crowther, Mrs., Ninety Six	
6	"	Deveaux, Andrew, Granville County	
7	"	Fridig, David, Congarees	
8	"	Legge, Edward, Colleton County	

Refugees of the First Class in Charlestown, SC, 122 days, 1 Sept-31 Dec 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
7	Major	Torrant, Thomas	
1	Captain	Cunningham, John	
2	"	Cunningham, Andrew	
3	"	Harvey, Alexander	
4	"	Hendrick, William	
5	"	Lary, Darby	
6	"	Long, George	
7	"	Millar, James	
8	"	Molloy, Daniel	
9	"	Outerbridge, White	
10	"	Phipps, William, gone to the enemy	
11	"	Pearis, Richard	
12	"	Reisinger, Faight	
13	"	Rees, Benjamin	
14	"	Rees, William	
15	"	Seabrooke, Joseph	
16	"	Stanyarne, Joseph	
17	"	Legge, Benjamin Smith	
18	"	Yarborough, J. D.	
1	Refugee	Antrobus, Isaac	
2	"	Brailsford, Mrs. and family (John)	
3	"	Byerly, Casper	
4	"	Balfour, Mrs.	
5	"	Crowther, Mrs. Mary	
6	"	Deveaux, Andrew, Sen.	
7	"	Fridig, David	
8	"	Legge, Edward	
9	"	Lechemere, Mrs.	
10	"	McLaurin, Mrs.	
11	"	Mathews, Rev. Edmund	
12	"	Nealy, George	
13	"	Stewart, Rev., James	

attest: Robert Gray, Pay Master Militia

Refugees Pay, First Class, Charlestown, SC, 122 days, 1 Sept - Dec 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Brig General	Cunningham, Robert, Ninety Six	
1	Colonel	Ball, Elias, Sen., Craven County	
2	"	Cary, James, Camden County	
3	"	Cassels, James, Georgetown	
4	"	Clary, Daniel, Ninety Six	
5	"	Gray, Robert, Cheraws	
6	"	King, Richard, Ninety Six	
7	"	Phillips, John, Jackson's Creek	
8	"	Plummer, Daniel, Ninety Six District	
9	"	McNiell, Hector, North Carolina	
1	Lieut Colonel	Ball, Elias, Craven County	
2	" "	Cunningham, Andrew, Ninety Six District	
3	" "	Cunningham, Patrick, Ninety Six District	
4	" "	Edghill, Thomas, Ninety Six District	
5	" "	Fletchall, Thomas, Ninety Six District	
6	" "	Galliard, Theodore, Berkley County	
7	" "	Hamilton, John, Ninety Six District	
8	" "	McKay, Archibald, North Carolina	
9	" "	McKenzie, Robert, Colleton County	
10	" "	Vernon, James, Ninety Six	
1	Major	Capers, Gabriel, Berkley County	
2	"	Deveaux, Andrew, Granville County	
3	"	Gibbs, Zachariah, Ninety Six	
4	"	Nealy, Christopher, Ninety Six	
5	"	Wofford, Benjamin, Ninety Six	
6	"	Tynes, Samuel, Camden	
7	"	Torrant, Thomas, North Carolina	
1	Captain	Cunningham, John, Ninety Six	
2	"	Cunningham, Andrew, Colleton	
3	"	Harvey, Alexander, Colleton	
4	"	Hendrick, William, Ninety Six	
5	"	Leary, Darby, Ninety Six	
6	"	Long, George, Ninety Six	
7	"	Millar, James, Jackson's Creek	
8	"	McCloy, Daniel, North Carolina	
9	"	Outerbridge, White, Charlestown	
10	"	Phipps, William, St. Johns, Colleton	
11	"	Pearis, Richard, Ninety Six	
12	"	Reisinger, Faight, Ninety Six	

PEARIS FAMILY

There are so many time gaps in surviving militia rolls that complete proof is lacking, but it appears that the Ensign Richard Pearis shown below may have been Richard Pearis, Jr., half-brother of our ancestress, Sarah (Pearis) Teter. Vol. I pages 77-9 of Clark's book, rolls of 23 Feb-24 Apr 1781 and 24 Apr-24 June 1781 at Augusta Georgia, also 14 Oct-24 Dec 1781 at Savannah show Ensign Pearis's group of Kings Rangers with only a slight amount of turnover, mostly due to casualties or becoming prisoners of war.

On the other hand, Captain Richard Pearis is shown with the Loyal Refugees, an entirely different group, as early as 30 Mar 1799 and as late as 31 Dec 1782. We know that both of them served much longer than shown, but those times overlap. Since only four men with the surname Pearis (or Parris, etc.) were shown in the entire 3-volume set (the others being Captain Robert and Private Elijah) the data recovered suggests that Captain Richard Pearis and Ensign Richard Pearis were father and son.

Vol. III, page 369, says "Ensign Richard Parris, born in America, planter, served 3 years in the Provincial Corps. " (None of the others listed.) That list gave nativity (England, Ireland, Germany, etc.) and usually state of residence or birth. Some of the older men served up to 7 years. (So did his father who served about 7 years, though some of it imprisoned as a suspected Tory-not shown.)

KING'S RANGERS

Muster, Captain Joseph Smith's Company, King's Rangers, Augusta, GA, 23 Feb 1781, 60 days, 24 Feb-24 Apr 1781

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Captain	Smith, Joseph	
1	Ensign	Pearis, Richard, promoted 8 Feb 1781	
1	Sergeant	Cornet, Joseph	
2	"	Baker, William	
3	"	Paxton, William	
1	Corporal	Gibs, Stephen	
2	"	Thornton, Joseph	
3	"	Whitmore, Richard	
1	Drummer	Black, Peter	
1	Private	Vines, Herbert	
2	"	Tate, William	
3	"	Tate, Jeremiah	
4	"	McCary, Lachlan	
5	"	Owings, John	
6	"	Wedgewood, John	
7	Private	Whaley, Charles	
8	"	Stapleton, George	
9	"	Wright, Nathan	
10	"	Brooks, Robert	
11	"	Berry, William	
12	"	Kelly, Thomas	
13	"	France, Abram	
14	"	Jones, John	
15	"	Jones, Britain	
16	"	Hover, John	
17	"	Lane, James	
18	"	Ware, Thomas	
19	"	Cryder, Christain	
20	"	Greer, William	
21	"	Febigur, John	
22	"	Hutt, John	
23	"	Barrs, William	
24	"	Syfrett, Philip	
25	"	Price, John	
26	"	Yellow, Gilbert	
27	"	Knight, Jacob	
28	"	Fielder, Peter	
29	"	Wetsail, Martin	
30	"	Wilkens, William	
31	"	Marr, Martin	
32	"	Duncan, James	
33	"	Jones, William	
34	"	Barry, Richard	
35	"	Parker, John	
36	"	Turner, John, enlisted 20 Feb 1781	
37	"	Morris, Patrick, " " " "	
38	"	Hillburn, John, " " " "	
39	"	Moore, Joseph, " " " "	
40	"	White, James, " 23 Feb 1781	
41	"	Davis, William, " " " "	
42	"	Ackley, John, " 3 Feb 1781	
43	"	Owenby, Arthur, " 10 Feb 1781	
44	"	Owenby, Thomas, " " " "	
45	"	Dampier, Daniel, " " " "	
46	"	Perkins, William, " 18 Feb 1781	
47	"	Thompson, William, prisoners with rebels	
48	"	Stroud, Julius, " " "	
49	"	Linnen, William, " " "	
50	"	Smith, Benjamin, " " "	
51	"	Nigh, Wolf, " " "	
52	"	Vessels, James, " " "	
53	"	Collins, Peter, " " "	
54	"	Rhodes, Christian, deserted 5 Feb 1781	
55	"	Red, Jacob, " " " "	
56	"	Carne, Adam, " " " "	
57	"	Evenelle, John, " " " "	
58	"	Price, Elijah, died 20 Dec 1780	
59	"	Martin, Archey, killed 20 Dec 1780	
60	"	Jackson, Jordan, " " " "	

Mustered at Augusta, 23 Feb 1781: 1 captain, 1 ensign, 3 sergeants, 3 corporals, 1 drummer, 46 effective private men

attest: John Jenkins, Deputy Muster Master Provincial Forces
Joseph Smith, Captain King's Rangers

MANNING, THOMAS, Norfolk Co., Va. Born in Va.; with relations and friends set out to join Lord Dunmore, but could not pass over Great Bridge because it had been taken by rebels. He and party had to live in woods until 1779, when he was able to join a British expedition sent into Va. from N. Y. Enlisted as Pvt. in 84th Regt. but was wounded at Battle of the Utaahs and rendered unfit for further service. While his party was hiding in woods they were attacked by rebels: two of them killed, another five captured and executed at Williamsburg. Claimant was sent with invalid Co. to New Providence, where he was captured by Spaniards. With rest of garrison, was sent back to England in 1783 and ordered to Portsmouth, where he was discharged 24 Mar. 1789. Memorial 6 Apr. 1789 London. Claim: Relief for self and family. (A013/31/347-352).

MANSON, THOMAS, Augusta, Ga. Native of Britain, was Ens. in N. C. Regt.; was banished from Ga. with brother William Manson, who lived with him. Made dangerous journey of 70 miles through woods to reach an advance British post at Pearis Mills and convey intelligence to them. Served in the defense of Savannah and after reduction of Charleston in 1780, resided there in a merchant house. Volunteered for expedition to Wilmington in 1780, accepted Ensigncy in 60th Regt., but could not raise more than half a Co. When Wilmington was evacuated Nov. 1781, his baggage was plundered on wharf by negroes; remainder thrown overboard because weight of baggage on deck threatened to overturn ship. Remained with Regt. when they went to St. Augustine and was then ordered to Halifax to be disbanded and receive lands. When he arrived Nov. 1783, the lands had not been surveyed or grants made. Unable to subsist in Halifax on half pay, much less go into an uncultivated wilderness covered in snow, he took passage to Britain. Because of adverse winds, ship put into Ireland where she remained a long time; then on passage from Cork to Bristol Jan. 1784, she wrecked on coast of Cornwall. Claimant has since stayed with wife and family at house of father-in-law, Maj. Daniel Manson, who now needs to move with own family to a cheaper part. Memorial 23 Aug. 1784 Deptford. Claim: Horses and personal property. (A013/36/633-641).

MANSON, WILLIAM, Ga. For many years commander of merchant ship plying between Britain and America; in 1774, business took him to Ga. where he settled on frontier lands lately ceded by Indians. By bringing out a number of settlers from Europe, became entitled by headright to 6000 acres which could not be purchased any other way; also bought and settled plantation in St. Paul's parish. Brought more than 100 people to Ga. to work on his new settlement, all as his indentured servants; paid their passage, located, and clothed them after their arrival, and advanced them money for their needs in 1775. Was partner in company of

Chapman and Manson. During war, was repeatedly obliged to leave house and family and take refuge in woods; imprisoned many months, and May 1780, banished. Under Army instructions, went under flag of truce to rebels in back parts of Ga. to offer pardon to those who laid down their arms; eight rebel field officers did so. Sept. 1781, claimant and family took passage from Charleston to England. Has wife, three children, aged mother, and sister to support. Memorials 25 Nov. 1783; 10 July 1789 Kirkwall. Claim: 4100 acres in ceded lands known as Wilkes Co.; mandamus for 5000 acres in same for which he paid John Pigott in England; 300 acres in Wrightsborough, St. Paul's parish, now called Richmond Co.; cattle, horses, etc. Evidences: Deposition 17 July 1786 London by Andrew Robertson, late of S. C., that he has known claimant more than 20 years; claimant arrived in Savannah in 1774 master of a large ship. Letter 26 Dec. 1788 Lambeth from William Manson to Commissioners that a large part of losses claimed by him have been paid in error to assignees of John and William Chapman, and that they fall far short of his loss. Abstract of titles: Letters patent of 3 July 1770 granting 200 acres in Wrightsborough to Edward Eckles, granted by him and wife Mary to claimant 9/10 Feb. 1775; 3 Oct. 1779 grant of 450 acres in St. Paul's parish to William Jackson, conveyed by him and wife Mary 25/27 May 1776 to William Candler, and by him and wife Elizabeth 6/7 Jan. 1778 to claimant; 7 Aug. 1770 grant of 50 acres in St. Paul's parish to William Candler, also conveyed as above; 2 Oct. 1770 grant of 150 acres in St. Paul's parish to Frederick Francis, conveyed by him 10 Oct. 1771 to William Candler, and by him and wife Elizabeth 6/7 Jan. 1778 to claimant; 3 July 1770 grant of 200 acres in St. Paul's parish to William Candler, by him and wife Elizabeth 5 Jan. 1771 conveyed to Edmund Bugg, who was granted another 200 acres in same 4 Dec. 1770, and who with wife Obedience conveyed the whole 400 acres 12 Mar. 1778 to William Candler, who 16/17 Sept. 1778 conveyed to claimant; 1 Oct. 1771 grant to Edward Bernard of 350 acres in St. Paul's parish, conveyed by him 5/6 Nov. 1771 to Sherwood Bugg, by him and wife Elizabeth 19/20 Sept. 1773 to Holman Freeman, by him 31 Aug. 1779 to William Candler, and by him and wife Elizabeth 8 Oct. 1779 to claimant; 4 Aug. 1772 grant of 200 acres in St. Paul's parish to Edmund Bugg, by him conveyed 4 Aug. 1774 to William Candler, and by him and wife Elizabeth 6/7 Jan. 1778 to claimant; 19 Jan. 1773 grant of 100 acres in St. Paul's parish to Barnabas Pace, by him and wife Agnes 10 Apr. 1780 conveyed to William Candler, and by him and wife Elizabeth 4/5 May 1780 to claimant; 2 Aug. 1774 grant of 150 acres in St. Paul's parish to John Bennett, by him 4 July 1775 to William Candler, and by him and wife Elizabeth 6/7 Jan. 1778 to claimant; 9/10 Feb. 1780 conveyance of two lots in Anson Ward, Savannah, from William Roache to claimant. (A013/36/642-653, 660-679). As a Quaker, claimant was

Pearis, Elijah 18
Elg 3

Captain Robert 22
24X2
25
48

Ensign Richard 76
78
79

Captain Richard 431X2
432X2
433X2
434
493
494
497-8-9
500

also George Neely & Christopher Neely 96 Dist
Refugees & Major & Lt Cols

LOYALISTS
in the
SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN
of the Revolutionary War

By Murtie June Clark

VOLUME I

Official Rolls of Loyalists Recruited from North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana

Baltimore
GENEALOGICAL PUBLISHING CO., INC.
1981

Muster, Captain George Dawkins' Company, late SC Royalists, Country Harbour, Nova Scotia, 12 Jun 1784

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
38	Private	Pearis, Elijah	
39	"	Rhodes, Thomas	
40	"	Basset, James	
41	"	Pope, Humphrey	
42	"	Willis, George	
43	"	Medcalf, James	
44	"	Squince, William	
45	"	McCord, John	
46	"	Shelnut, George	
47	"	Raine, Conrad	
48	"	Maltze, Thomas	
49	"	Niblett, Levi	
50	"	Mann, Thomas	
51	"	Wilson, James	
52	"	Laws, Elijah	
53	"	Parsons, William	
54	"	Parsons, David	
55	"	McArthur, Duncan	
56	"	Barclay, Archibald	
57	"	Claywell, Shadrack	
58	"	Oldham, Easu, gone to Halifax on business	
59	"	Bush, Andrew, " " " " "	
60	"	McMann, John, " " " " "	
61	"	Weeks, George, absent at Chedebuto	
62	"	Reyburn, George, " " "	
63	"	Royall, David, " " "	
64	"	Wind, William, " " "	

Women:

1	Mrs. Gregg, wife to Qtr-Mstr Gregg	
2	Mrs. McDonald, wife to Sgt McDonald	
3	Mrs. Moore, wife to Sgt Moore	
4	Mrs. Townsend, wife to Sgt Townsend	
5	Mrs. Darby, wife to Sgt Darby	
6	Mrs. Hamilton, wife to John Hamilton	
7	Mrs. Hogle, wife to Stephen Hogle	
8	Mrs. Claywell, wife to Shadrack Claywell	

Children, 10 years old:

1	Hamilton, John, son to John Hamilton	
2	Mathier, Elizabeth, daughter to Mrs. Darby	
3	Hogle, Jean, daughter to Stephen Hogle	

Children under 10 Years of Age:

1	Darby, James Edward, son to Sgt Darby	
2	Townsend, Sally, daughter to Sgt Townsend	
3	Moore, James, son to Sgt Moore	
4	Claywell, Solomon, son to Shadrack Claywell	

Servants:

1	Sally	Lieut Hudson
2	Toby	" "
3	Hercules	" "
4	Joe	Lieut Cornwall
5	Bob	" "
6	Binna	" "

Muster, Captain George Dawkins' Company, late SC Royalists, Country Harbour, Nova Scotia, 12 Jun 1784

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
Servants:			
7		Nelly	Lieut Boisseau
8		Ned	" "
9		Charles	" "
10		Cato	" "
11		Tony	Captain Dawkins
12		William Runson	" "

*gone to Halifax since the muster of Mr. Leadbetter

Mustered at Country Harbour, Nova Scotia, 12 Jun 1784.
attest: William Shaw, Asst Master of Musters
George Dawkins, Captain
Daniel Cornwall, Lieutenant

(PAC, MG23, D1, Vol 24, p. 253)

Muster, Major Thomas Frazer's Company, SC Royalists, Camden, SC, 24 Feb 1781, 60 days, 24 Feb-24 Apr 1781

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Major	Frazer, Thomas	
1	Lieutenant	Johnston, William	
1	Ensign	Livingston, John, on command	
1	Sergeant	McCormack, Joseph	
2	"	Cawley, Robert	
3	"	Darby, Joseph	
1	Corporal	Pitts, Mark	
2	"	Pursell, Edmund	
3	"	Evans, William	
1	Drummer	McWilliams, Hazel	
1	Private	Knox, John	
2	"	Evans, John	
3	"	Cotton, Samuel	
4	"	Jackson, Thomas, on leave	
5	"	Hill, Abraham	
6	"	Daniel, John	
7	"	Cawley, William	
8	"	Conneway, Jeremiah	
9	"	Philpot, Peter	
10	"	Bean, Michael	
11	"	Sawyers, Ansil	
12	"	Dickey, James	
13	"	Folke, Jonathan	
14	"	Linday, John, bounty forgotten last roll	
15	"	Pinkstone, William, deserted 1 Feb 1781	
16	"	Crosby, William	
17	"	Wright, Micajah	
18	"	Cawley, James	
19	"	Cass, Francis, bounty forgotten last roll	
20	"	Johnston, William, transferred 14 Feb 1781	
21	"	Hamilton, John, wounded	
22	"	Smyth, John	
23	"	Morris, William	
24	"	Cannon, William	

Muster, Major Thomas Frazer's Company, SC Royalists, Quarter House, SC, 24 Oct 1781, 61 days, 25 Oct-24 Dec 1781 (paid as cavalry, 1 ensign, 3 private men excepted)

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
16	Private	Freeman, John	
17	"	Claywell, Shadrack, Prisoner with rebels	
18	"	Filpot, Peter	
19	"	Sawyers, Ansil	
20	"	Folk, Jonathan	
21	"	Linday, Josiah	
22	"	Armstrong, Daniel	
23	"	Hardy, Charles	
24	"	Oakman, William	
25	"	Farry, Joseph, present	
26	"	Crasby, Richard, present	

Mustered: 1 major, 1 lieutenant, 1 quarter master, 2 sergeants, 1 corporal, 8 effective private men

attest: John Jenkins, Deputy Muster Master
Provincial Forces
Thomas Frazer, Major
SC Royalists

(PAC, RG8I "C" Series, Vol 1890)

Muster, Major Thomas Frazer's Company, SC Royalists, Saint Augustine, FL, 25 Apr 1783, 61 days, 25 Apr-24 Jun 1783

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Major	Frazer, Thomas	
1	Lieutenant	Cockburn, Douglas	
1	Ensign	Cox, John	
1	Sergeant	Whytie, John	
2	"	Leitch, Charles	
3	"	McKay, Joseph	
1	Corporal	Smith, John	
2	"	Jordan, John	
1	Drummer	Tait, David, on command, St. John's Bluff	
1	Private	Royall, David	
2	"	Davies, John, on command at Musqueta	
3	"	Boyd, John	
4	"	Berryhill, Alexander	
5	"	Lambert, Aaron	
6	"	Heath, William	
7	"	Church, John	
8	"	Crowley, Dennis, on command at Picolatta	
9	"	Whyte, William, on command at Matanza	
10	"	Bateman, Peter	
11	"	Patrick, Daniel	
12	"	Hynes, Benjamin	
13	"	Holloman, Jeremiah	
14	"	Roberts, Thomas	
15	"	Powers, Thomas, on command at St. John's	
16	"	Patrick, Samuel	
17	"	King, Sterling, enlisted 2 Mar 1783	
18	"	Gordon, John, a boy	
19	"	Bradshaw, John, reduced	

Muster, Major Thomas Frazer's Company, SC Royalists, Saint Augustine, FL, 25 Apr 1783, 61 days, 25 Apr-24 Jun 1783
Mustered at Saint Augustine, FL, 25 Apr 1783

attest: Rigdon Brice, Deputy Muster Master
Provincial Forces
John Cox, Ensign
SC Royalists

(PAC, RG8I "C" Series, Vol 1902)

Muster, Captain Robert Pearis' Company, SC Royalists, Savannah, GA, 1 Dec 1779

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Captain	Pearis, Robert	
1	Lieutenant	Dewatt, David	
2	"	McKenny, Mathew	
1	Sergeant	Graham, George	
2	"	Cuthbertson, James	
1	Corporal	Cook, Boston, died 9 Oct 1779	
1	Private	Cook, Jacob	
2	"	Mayer, Jacob	
3	"	Ducraft, John	
4	"	Revan, Benjamin	
5	"	Carter, Jesse	
6	"	Williams, Nathaniel, enlisted 2 Apr 1779	
7	"	Bird, Thomas, enlisted 2 Apr 1779	
8	"	Tyler, John, enlisted 2 Apr 1779	
9	"	Landford, Jesse, enlisted 2 Apr 1779	
10	"	Williams, John, enlisted 2 Apr 1779	
11	"	Stewart, Edward, enlisted 5 Apr 1779	
12	"	Niblet, Levi, enlisted 5 Apr 1779	
13	"	Attaway, Joseph	
14	"	Addingten, James	
15	"	Richard, Will	
16	"	Tillen, John	
17	"	Blacklidge, Ben, enlisted 2 Aug; died 14 Sept	
18	"	Tyler, Moses, enlisted 2 Aug; died 24 Oct	
19	"	Blaylock, Richard, enlisted 2 Aug; absent	
20	"	Stevenson, William, " " " sick qtrs	
21	"	Neely, Richard, enlisted 27 Aug; absent	
22	"	Dickson, John, absent	
23	"	Dickson, Michael, "	
24	"	Felsom, William, "	
25	"	Felsom, Nathaniel, "	
26	"	Attaway, Zekal, "	
27	"	Hamby, Thomas, sick in quarters	
28	"	Hamby, Nathaniel, " " "	
29	"	Hamby, Isaac, absent	
30	"	Guntress, David, prisoner with rebels	
31	"	Draper, William, " " "	
32	"	Rhodes, Christopher, " " "	

Mustered: Savannah, GA

(PAC, RG8I "C" Series, Vol 1890)

Muster, Captain Robert Pearis' Company, SC Royalists, Camden, SC, 24 Feb 1781, 60 days inclusive, 24 Feb-24 Apr 1781

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Captain	Pearis, Robert, recruiting	
1	Lieutenant	Waugh, David	
1	Sergeant	Graham, George, prisoner with the rebels	
2	"	Adair, John, on command	
3	"	Miller, William	
1	Corporal	Harrison, Benjamin	
2	"	Dickson, John	
1	Drummer	Hornett, John	
1	Private	Farmer, John	
2	"	Sizemore, Edward, deserted 19 Apr 1781	
3	"	Sizemore, Owen, " " " "	
4	"	Sellers, Solomon	
5	"	Niblet, Levi	
6	"	Sutherland, Gibson	
7	"	Williams, Nathaniel, deserted 19 Apr 1781	
8	"	Marke, Henry	
9	"	Taylor, John	
10	"	Greer, James	
11	"	Saunders, Moses	
12	"	Kelly, Dennis	
13	"	Dickson, Michael, prisoner with rebels	
14	"	Hamby, Thomas, " " "	
15	"	Hamby, William, " " "	
16	"	Libby, John, on command and recruiting	
17	"	Stevenson, William, " " "	
18	"	Bird, Thomas, " " "	
19	"	Allsway, Joseph, " " "	
20	"	Buffington, Samuel, " " "	
21	"	Attaway, Harley, " " "	
22	"	Hamby, Isaac, " " "	
23	"	Stone, William, " " "	
24	"	Ball, Jacob " " "	
25	"	Poor, Edward, " " "	
26	"	Fannon, David, deserted 26 Jan 1781	
27	"	Carter, Jesse, " " " "	

Mustered at Camden, SC, 24 Feb 1781: 1 lieutenant, 1 sergeant, 2 corporals, 1 drummer, 8 effective private men

attest: John Jenkins, Deputy Muster Master
Provincial Forces
David Waugh, Lieutenant
SC Royalists

(PAC, RG8I "C" Series, Vol 1902)

Muster, Captain Robert Pearis' Company, SC Royalists, Camden, SC, 24 Apr 1781, 61 days inclusive, 25 Apr-24 Jun 1781

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Captain	Pearis, Robert	
1	Ensign	Murphey, Hugh, returned fr being prisoner	
1	Sergeant	Graham, George, prisoner with rebels	
2	"	Adair, John	
1	Corporal	Harrison, Benjamin	
2	"	Dickson, John	
1	Drummer	Haznells, John	
1	Private	Sellers, Solomon	

Muster, Captain Robert Pearis' Company, SC Royalists, Camden, SC, 24 Apr 1781, 61 days inclusive, 25 Apr-24 Jun 1781

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
2	Private	Niblet, Levi	
3	"	Taylor, John	
4	"	Greer, James	
5	"	Kelly, Dennis	
6	"	Saunders, Moses	
7	"	Saunders, Thomas	
8	"	Marke, Henry, prisoner with rebels	
9	"	Hamby, Thomas, " " "	
10	"	Hamby, William, " " "	

Mustered at Camden, SC, 24 Apr 1781

attest: John Jenkins, Deputy Muster Master
Provincial Forces
George Dawkins, Captain
SC Royalists

(PAC, RG8I "C" Series, Vol 1890)

Muster, Captain Charles Stewart Lindsay's Company, SC Royalists, Camden, SC, 23 Feb 1781, 60 days, 24 Feb-24 Apr 1781

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Captain	Lindsay, Charles Stewart	
1	Lieutenant	Carter, George	
1	Ensign	Carter, John	
1	Sergeant	Stevenson, Samuel, on command	
2	"	Wiseman, Hugh	
3	"	Stevans, Shadrack, prisoner with rebels	
1	Corporal	Singley, Jacob	
2	"	Key, Robert	
3	"	Stevans, Burwell	
1	Drummer	Osborn, Britain	
1	Private	Pitts, Moses	
2	"	Jennings, Robert	
3	"	Brock, Nicholas	
4	"	Yearby, Grief	
5	"	McKay, Archibald	
6	"	Osborne, Edward	
7	"	Joiner, Benjamin	
8	"	Malcher, John	
9	"	Goodman, William	
10	"	Osborn, Jesse	
11	"	Herod, Harry	
12	"	Crosen, Alexander	
13	"	Crosen, Thomas	
14	"	Foster, Henry	
15	"	Burdeshaw, Peter	
16	"	Thirston, Meredith	
17	"	Bowles, George	
18	"	Counts, Peter	
19	"	Counts, Henry, Jr., on command	
20	"	Jackson, John	
21	"	Jackson, James	
22	"	Finley, Paul	
23	"	Garrett, James	
24	"	Witt, Allen	
25	"	Driver, James	
26	"	Cannon, William	
27	"	Cannon, Robert	

Muster, Captain Alexander Campbell's Company, SC Royalists, Camden, SC, 24 Apr 1781, 61 days, 25 Apr-24 Jun 1781

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
49	Private	Parsons, George, enlisted 5 May 1781	
50	"	Thompson, Francis, " " "	"
51	"	Bradshaw, James, " " "	"
52	"	Wingate, Thomas, " " "	"
53	"	Burke, Levy, " " "	"
54	"	Collins, Thomas, " " "	"
55	"	Ogley, Conrad, killed 25 Apr 1781	
56	"	Davis, Thomas	
57	"	Pope, John	

Mustered: 1 captain, 1 ensign, 3 sergeants, 3 corporals, 1 drummer, 49 effective private men

attest: John Jenkins, Deputy Muster Master
Provincial Forces
Alexander Campbell, Captain
SC Royalists

(PAC, RG8I "C" Series, Vol 1890)

Muster, Captain Alexander Campbell's Troop, SC Royalists, location not shown, 24 Oct 1781, 61 days, 25 Oct-24 Dec 1781

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Captain	Campbell, Alexander	
1	Lieutenant	Allicock, Charles T.	
1	Cornet	Murray, John	
1	Sergeant	McCartney, Jeremiah	
2	"	Brown, William	
1	Corporal	Bailey, Archibald	
2	"	Hunt, James	
1	Private	Harris, George, on command	
2	"	Coleman, Prince, General hospital	
3	"	Lockart, Jacob, prisoner with rebels, 16 Sept 1781	
4	"	Pope, Humphrey	
5	"	Pope, John	
6	"	Bishop, George, prisoner with rebels, 16 Sept 1781	
7	"	Read, John	
8	"	Taylor, Thomas, on command	
9	"	Coward, Joshua, on command	
10	"	McCartney, Duncan, on command	
11	"	Wattson, Thomas, on command	
12	"	Bookman, Jacob, on command	
13	"	Murtyeshire, George, infantry pay	
14	"	Callaghan, John, infantry pay	
15	"	Huffon, Joshua, infantry pay	
16	"	Nelson, Rutledge, on command	
17	"	Jefferson, Edward, on command	
18	"	Moore, George, on command	
19	"	Bassett, James	
20	"	Gafford, Thomas	
21	"	Brady, John, prisoner, 8 Sept 1781	
22	"	Willis, George, " " "	"
23	"	Saunders, John, on command	
24	"		

Muster, Captain Alexander Campbell's Troop, SC Royalists, location not shown, 24 Oct 1781, 61 days, 25 Oct-24 Dec 1781

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
27	Private	Fender, Mathias, died 24 Aug 1781	
28	"	Rayburn, David	
29	"	Davis, Scotten, prisoner with rebels	
30	"	Wells, Spencer, " "	"
31	"	Cooper, Samuel, " "	" 16 Jul
32	"	Parsons, George	
33	"	Thompson, Francis, prisoner, taken 16 Sept	
34	"	Bradshaw, James	
35	"	Wingate, Thomas	
36	"	Burke, Levy, prisoner, taken 2 Sept 1781	
37	"	Collins, Thomas, " " " "	"
38	"	Reads, Thomas	
39	"	Shannon, Joshua	
40	"	Pearis, Ely	
41	"	Bartley, John, prisoner, 10 Jul 1781	
42	"	Davis, Thomas	
43	"	Black, Francis, enlisted 16 Dec 1781	

Note: paid as cavalry, with the exception of three private men.

Mustered: 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 cornet, 2 sergeants, 2 corporals, 16 effective private men

attest: John Jenkins, Deputy Muster Master
Provincial Forces
Alexander Campbell, Captain
SC Royalists

(PAC, RG8I "C" Series, Vol 1890)

Muster, Captain Alexander Campbell's Company, SC Royalists, Saint Augustine, FL, 24 Apr 1783, 61 days, 25 Apr-24 Jun 1783

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Captain	Campbell, Alexander	
1	Lieutenant	Allicock, Charles T., with leave at New York	
1	Sergeant	McCartney, Jeremiah	
2	"	Williams, Henry	
1	Corporal	Hunt, James	
2	"	Shehan, Joshua	
3	"	Gafford, Thomas	
1	Drummer	Norton, Thomas	
1	Private	Davidson, Thomas	
2	"	Callaghan, John	
3	"	Read, John	
4	"	Bartley, Archibald	
5	"	Huffon, John, on command at Musqueta	
6	"	Rhodes, Thomas, on command at Picolatta	
7	"	Presley, Anthony	
8	"	Rayburn, George	
9	"	Willis, George	
10	"	Metcalf, James	
11	"	Myers, Jacob	
12	"		

Wynnsborough, SC, 10 Nov 1780, J. Despard, Deputy Adjutant General, South Carolina Royalists, appointed by Lieut General Earl Cornwallis:

7. William Johnston to be Lieutenant, 1 Aug 1780
8. George Carter to be Lieutenant, 2 Aug 1780
9. Moses Whiteley to be Lieutenant, 1 Sept 1780
10. Daniel Cornwall to be Lieutenant, 24 Oct 1780
11. William Van Horn to be Ensign, 4 May 1780
12. John Carter to be Ensign, 9 Aug 1780
13. John Ogden to be Ensign, 24 Sept 1780
14. John Livingston to be Ensign, 25 Sept 1780
15. Charles Lindsay to be Adjutant, 24 Oct 1779
16. John Devaux to be Chaplain, 24 Oct 1779
17. Matthew Gregg to be Qtr-Mstr, 24 Oct 1779
18. Joseph Hatton to be Surgeon, 24 Oct 1779

(CL, Mackenzie Papers)

Trout Creek, 20 July 1778

The corps of the Carolina Royalists approved of by His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, to consist of 400 men would be expeditiously compleated and with the further approbation of the Commander-in-Chief, should consist of 8 companies of 50 rank and file in each, and to have one colonel, 1 lieutenant colonel, one major, 5 captains, 1 captain-lieutenant, 9 lieutenants, 6 ensigns, 1 adjutant, 1 quarter-master, 1 surgeon and 1 mate, 24 sergeants and 8 drummers.

A list of the persons qualified to enjoy commissions in that corps is most humbly submitted to Brigadier General Prevost, to be recommended by him to his Excellency, Sir Henry Clinton, Commander-in-Chief, etc.

Captains:
John York
John Murphy
Martin Livingston
Fait Rysinger
Robert Pearis

Captain-Lieutenant:
Harris Tyner

Ensign:
Robert Moorhead
Campbell Wyley
Aquilla Hall
AJF Prevost
John Bayley
Daniel Dewalt

Lieutenants:
George Dawkins
James Dougharty
William Hunt
Benjamin Gregory
Frederic Gigilater
Francis Fatio

Second Lieutenant:
Robert Young
James Stevenson
James Wright

Jacob Daniel Obman, Adjutant
George Clarke, Surgeon
Edward Lane, Quarter-Master

signed by: Joseph Robinson,
Lieutenant Colonel
SC Royalists

(PRO 30-55, Vol 11:1269)

2

KING'S RANGERS*

Muster, Lieut Colonel Thomas Brown's Company, King's Rangers, 24 Jun 1779

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Lieut Colonel	Brown, Thomas	
1	Capt-Lieut	Barclay, John	
1	Lieutenant	Brown, James	
1	Ensign	Prevost, G. M.	
1	Chaplain	Stewart, James	
1	Adjutant	Browne, James C.	
1	Qtr-Mstr	Cameron, Donald	
1	Surgeon	Clark, John	
1	Sergeant	Adamms, Aach, died 27 Oct	
2	"	Brooks, Thomas, enlisted 3 Aug	
3	"	Wilson, David, " " "	
1	Corporal	Advison, Phillip	
2	"	Bryson, Hawkins	
3	"	McKnight, Moses	
1	Private	Middlebrook, James	
2	"	George, Henry, died 19 Sept 1779	
3	"	Ward, Banjamin	
4	"	Bush, John	
5	"	Barker, Moses	
6	"	King, Wallis	
7	"	McBride, Edward	
8	"	Deems, Aba	
9	"	Stone, Elias	
10	"	Hutchison, Joseph	
11	"	Hodge, Benjamin	
12	"	Wallis, Joseph	
13	"	Dugelere, John	
14	"	Rickman, John	
15	"	McGovern, Thomas	
16	"	Johnston, Edward	
17	"	Holt, Reuben	
18	"	Cooke, David	
19	"	Parke, Andrew	
20	"	Allgood, William, deserted 23 Sept	
21	"	Mills, Henry, " " "	
22	"	Burch, John	
23	"	Barry, Thomas	
24	"	Longford, Moses	
25	"	Hog, James	
26	"	Curler, John, deserted 25 Sept	
27	"	McIntire, John	
28	"	Pedlar, John	
29	"	Handcocke, John	
30	"	Hunter, William	

* Also known as East Florida Rangers, Florida Rangers, and Carolina Rangers

Muster, Captain Joseph Smith's Company, King's Rangers, Savannah, GA, 29 Nov 1779

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
27	Private	Bennett, William,	died 9 Sept 1779
28	"	Edwards, John,	died 15 Sept 1779
29	"	McLane, John,	died 27 Sept 1779
30	"	Martin, William,	died 2 Sept 1779
31	"	Benton, James,	died 3 Sept 1779
32	"	Kirkendel, Simeon,	died 5 Sept 1779
33	"	Blair, James,	died 8 Sept 1779
34	"	Whitual, Simon,	died 8 Sept 1779
35	"	Hynes, Richard,	died 5 Sept 1779
36	"	Mitchell, John,	died 5 Sept 1779
37	"	Hardis, Isaac,	deserted 16 Nov 1779
38	"	Neale, Matthew,	" 25 Oct 1779
39	"	Watson, Peter,	" " "
40	"	Windferd, Joseph,	" " "
41	"	Kennady, James,	" 16 Nov 1779
42	"	Brown, George,	" 14 " "
43	"	Thomas, John,	" " " "
44	"	Perdew, William,	" 22 Jul 1779
45	"	Mealing, Josiah,	" " " "
46	"	Neal, Thomas,	" " " "
47	"	Tellison, Benjamin,	" 30 " "
48	"	Trent, William,	" 7 Aug 1779
49	"	Townsend, Henry,	" " " "
50	"	Trout, John,	" " " "
51	"	McLane, Richard,	" 15 Aug 1779
52	"	Collard, Thomas,	" 20 Aug 1779
53	"	Childers, William,	" 8 Aug 1779
54	"	Lynn, John,	" " " "

Mustered at Savannah, 29 Nov 1779
Note: Privates 1-43 received pay to 24 Oct 1779

attest: Rigdon Brice, Deputy Muster Master
Provincial Service
Joseph Smith, Captain
King's Rangers

(PAC, RG8I "C" Series, Vol 1898)

Muster, Captain Joseph Smith's Company, King's Rangers, Augusta, GA, 23 Feb 1781, 60 days, 24 Feb-24 Apr 1781

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Captain	Smith, Joseph	
1	Ensign	Pearis, Richard,	promoted 8 Feb 1781
1	Sergeant	Cornet, Joseph	
2	"	Baker, William	
3	"	Paxton, William	
1	Corporal	Gibs, Stephen	
2	"	Thornton, Joseph	
3	"	Whitmore, Richard	
1	Drummer	Black, Peter	
1	Private	Vines, Herbert	
2	"	Tate, William	
3	"	Tate, Jeremiah	
4	"	McCary, Lachlan	
5	"	Owings, John	
6	"	Wedgewood, John	

Muster, Captain Joseph Smith's Company, King's Rangers, Augusta, GA, 23 Feb 1781, 60 days, 24 Feb-24 Apr 1781

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
7	Private	Whaley, Charles	
8	"	Stapleton, George	
9	"	Wright, Nathan	
10	"	Brooks, Robert	
11	"	Berry, William	
12	"	Kelly, Thomas	
13	"	France, Abram	
14	"	Jones, John	
15	"	Jones, Britain	
16	"	Hover, John	
17	"	Lane, James	
18	"	Ware, Thomas	
19	"	Cryder, Christain	
20	"	Greer, William	
21	"	Febigur, John	
22	"	Hutt, John	
23	"	Barrs, William	
24	"	Syfrett, Philip	
25	"	Price, John	
26	"	Yellow, Gilbert	
27	"	Knight, Jacob	
28	"	Fielder, Peter	
29	"	Wetsail, Martin	
30	"	Wilkens, William	
31	"	Marr, Martin	
32	"	Duncan, James	
33	"	Jones, William	
34	"	Barry, Richard	
35	"	Parker, John	
36	"	Turner, John,	enlisted 20 Feb 1781
37	"	Morris, Patrick,	" " " "
38	"	Hillburn, John,	" " " "
39	"	Moore, Joseph,	" " " "
40	"	White, James,	" 23 Feb 1781
41	"	Davis, William,	" " " "
42	"	Ackley, John,	" 3 Feb 1781
43	"	Owenby, Arthur,	" 10 Feb 1781
44	"	Owenby, Thomas,	" " " "
45	"	Dampier, Daniel,	" " " "
46	"	Perkins, William,	" 18 Feb 1781
47	"	Thompson, William,	prisoners with rebels
48	"	Stroud, Julius,	" " "
49	"	Linnen, William,	" " "
50	"	Smith, Benjamin,	" " "
51	"	Nigh, Wolf,	" " "
52	"	Vessels, James,	" " "
53	"	Collins, Peter,	" " "
54	"	Rhodes, Christian,	deserted 5 Feb 1781
55	"	Red, Jacob,	" " " "
56	"	Carne, Adam,	" " " "
57	"	Evenelle, John,	" " " "
58	"	Price, Elijah,	died 20 Dec 1780
59	"	Martin, Archey,	killed 20 Dec 1780
60	"	Jackson, Jordan,	" " " "

Mustered at Augusta, 23 Feb 1781: 1 captain, 1 ensign, 3 sergeants, 3 corporals, 1 drummer, 46 effective private men

attest: John Jenkins, Deputy Muster Master
Provincial Forces
Joseph Smith, Captain
King's Rangers

(PAC, RG8I "C" Series, Vol 1898)

Muster, Captain Joseph Smith's Company, King's Rangers, Augusta, GA, 24 Apr 1781, 61 days, 25 Apr-24 Jun 1781

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Captain	Smith, Joseph	
1	Lieutenant	Hybert, John, recruiting in Charlestown	
1	Ensign ✓	Pearis, Richard	
1	Sergeant	Connell, Joseph	
2	"	Baker, William	
3	"	Paxton, William	
1	Corporal	Gibbs, Stephen	
2	"	Thornton, Joseph	
3	"	Whitman, Richard	
1	Drummer	Black, Peter	
1	Private	Vines, Harbert	
2	"	Tate, William	
3	"	Tate, Jeremiah	
4	"	McCary, Lachlin	
5	"	Owens, John	
6	"	Wedgewood, John	
7	"	Whaley, Charles	
8	"	Stapleton, George	
9	"	Wright, Nathan	
10	"	Brooks, Robert	
11	"	Berry, William	
12	"	Kelly, Thomas	
13	"	France, Abram	
14	"	Jones, John	
15	"	Jones, Brittain	
16	"	Hover, John	
17	"	Lane, James	
18	"	Ware, Thomas	
19	"	Cryder, Christian	
20	"	Greer, William	
21	"	Febiger, John	
22	"	Hull, John	
23	"	Barrs, William	
24	"	Syfrett, Philip	
25	"	Price, John	
26	"	Yellow, Gilbert, absent with leave	
27	"	Knight, Jacob	
28	"	Felder, Peter	
29	"	Wetsail, Martin	
30	"	Wilkins, William	
31	"	Marr, Martin	
32	"	Duncan, James	
33	"	Jones, William	
34	"	Thompson, William, prisoner with rebels	
35	"	Stroud, Julius, " " "	
36	"	Linen, William, " " "	
37	"	Smith, Benjamin, " " "	
38	"	Nigh, Wolf, " " "	
39	"	Vessels, James, " " "	
40	"	Collins, Peter, " " "	
41	"	Barry, Richard, recruiting	
42	"	Parker, John	
43	"	Turner, John	
44	"	Morris, Patrick	
45	"	Hillburn, John	
46	"	Moore, Joseph, on furlough	
47	"	White, James	
48	"	Davis, William	
49	"	Ashley, John	

Muster, Captain Joseph Smith's Company, King's Rangers, Augusta, GA, 24 Apr 1781, 61 days, 25 Apr-24 Jun 1781

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
50	Private	Ownby, Arthur, on furlough	
51	"	Ownby, Thomas, on furlough	
52	"	Dampier, Daniel	
53	"	Perkins, William	
54	"	Price, Elijah, died 20 Dec 1780	
55	"	Martin, Archy, killed 24 Dec 1780	
56	"	Jackson, Jordan, " " " "	

Mustered at Augusta, 24 Apr 1781: 1 captain, 1 ensign, 3 sergeants, 3 corporals, 1 drummer, 40 effective private men

attest: John Jenkins, Deputy Muster Master Provincial Forces
Joseph Smith, Captain King's Rangers

(PAC, RG8I "C" Series, Vol 1898)

Muster, Captain Joseph Smith's Company, King's Rangers, Savannah, GA, 24 Oct 1781, 61 days, 25 Oct-24 Dec 1781

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Captain	Smith, Joseph	
1	Lieutenant	Hybert, John	
1	Ensign ✓	Pearis, Richard	
1	Sergeant	Cornett, Joseph	
2	"	Baker, William	
3	"	Paxton, William, prisoner with rebels	
1	Corporal	Whitmore, Richard	
2	"	Gibbs, Stephen, prisoner with rebels	
3	"	Thaxton, Joseph, " " "	
1	Drummer	Black, Peter	
1	Private	Yellow, Gilbert	
2	"	Owins, John	
3	"	Stapleton, George	
4	"	Kelly, Thomas	
5	"	Lane, James	
6	"	Ware, Thomas	
7	"	Cryder, Christian	
8	"	Price, John	
9	"	Duncan, James	
10	"	Owenby, Arthur	
11	"	Owenby, Thomas	
12	"	Dampier, Daniel	
13	"	Barrs, William	
14	"	Brooks, Robert	
15	"	Thompson, William	
16	"	Holly, Jonathan	
17	"	Cotter, David	
18	"	Raiman, William	
19	"	Hawkins, Samuel	
20	"	Wallace, James	
21	"	McCalep, Robert, enlisted 4 Sept 1781	
22	"	Cox, John, enlisted 7 Sept 1781	
23	"	Cox, Joel, enlisted 7 Sept 1781	
24	"	Jones, John, returned from being a prisoner with the rebels, 2 Oct 1781, back pay from 25 Jun-24 Oct, 122 days	

WEST FLORIDA ROYAL FORESTERS

Muster, Captain Adam Chrystie's Company, West Florida Royal Foresters, New Town, Long Island, New York, 24 Feb 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
2	Private	Adams, Nicholas	
3	"	Clark, John, wounded, left at Pensacola	
4	"	Gray, James	
5	"	McCulloch, John	
6	"	Nichols, Henry	
7	"	Upton, George	
8	"	Upton, James	
9	"	Upton, John	

Mustered: 1 captain, 1 cornet, 1 sergeant, 2 corporals, 8 effective private men

attest: Adam Chrystie, Captain
West Florida Royal Foresters
John Allender, Cornet

(PAC, MG23, D1, Vol 27)

Muster, Captain Adam Chrystie's Company, West Florida Royal Foresters, New Town, Long Island, New York, 25 Jun 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Captain	Chrystie, Adam	
1	Cornet	Allender, John	
1	Sergeant	Grogan, Richard	
1	Corporal	Wheeler, David	
2	"	Nichols, Henry	
1	Private	Adams, Nicholas	
2	"	Gray, James	
3	"	McCulloch, John	
4	"	McKeever, John	
5	"	Rice, Alexander	
6	"	Upton, George	
7	"	Upton, John	
8	"	Upton, James	

Mustered: 1 captain, 1 cornet, 1 sergeant, 2 corporals, 8 effective private men

attest: Adam Chrystie, Captain
West Florida Royal Foresters
John Allender, Cornet

(PAC, MG23, D1, Vol 27)

Account of Clothing, Arms, Horse, Accoutreaments (sic) and etc. for the West Florida Royal Forresters, 30 Sept 1780:

John Falconer & Company	Swanson and McGillvray & Co.
Miller, McMin and Company	Peter Thompson Taylor
David Sohoutte	Christopher Embd
John White	William Whissel, Gunsmith
Joseph Carrol	Abraham Benno
William Clark	Walter Turnbull
Leonard Wisner	John Lorrimer
Thomas Grahame, 19 horses	attest: Captain Christy

(PRO 30-55, Vol 25:3047)

15

PENSACOLA FLORIDA LOYALISTS

✔ Pay Bill, for and agreeable to Return made for the Companies of Captain Richard Pearis and Captain William McIntosh, Loyal Refugees, from 30 Mar to 30 Apr 1779, for 32 days or 1 month and 2 days

2 Captains at 10/ per day each	₤ 32.0.0
4 Lieutenants at 5/ per day each	32.0.0
2 Ensigns at 4/ per day each	12.16.0
6 Sergeants at 60/ per month each	19.4.0
2 Drummers) 2 Fifers)- 10 men at 50/ per month 6 Corporals)	26.13.4
94 rank and file) 6 contingent men)- 100 men at 40/ per month each	213.6.8
Total pay if company were full	336.0.0
Deduct for 1 Sergeant short ₤ 3.4.0 Deduct for 62 rank and file short ₤132.5.4	135.9.4
Total pay (for both companies which are not up to strength)	₤200.10.8

Received, Pensacola, 30 Apr 1779, from the Honorable Andrew Rainsford, Esquire, John Mitchell, Robert Tait, Alexander Macullogh, and David Holmes, Esquire, Commissioners, for exercising the office of His Majesty's Sole Agent for and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, a set bill of exchange of this date, at 30 days sight, on the right Honorable, the Lord's Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury for the sum of 200 pounds, 10 shillings, 8 pence, sterling, in full of the above pay bill, having signed 4 receipts of this tenor and date.

signed: William McIntosh, Captain
Loyal Refugees

Return of Two Companies of Loyal Refugees, whereof, the late Honorable John Stuart, Esquire, His Majesty's Sole Agent and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern District of North America (who died March 21st), was Colonel from 30 Mar to 30 Apr 1779, both days included, their Headquarters at Natchez:

Captain William McIntosh	1-2-1-1-2-2-9-1-0-3-3-0-3-0-19-0-0-31-0-0-0-0
✔ Captain Richard Pearis	0-2-0-0-2-1-10-0-0-7-0-0-0-2-19-1-0-31-0-0-0-0-
Total	1-4-1-1-4-3-19-1-0-10-3-0-3-2-38-1-0-62-0-0-0-0-

(See Key on following page for columnar headings)

Key to Columnar Headings:

Commissioned Officers Present:
1. Captain 2. Lieutenant 3. Ensign

Staff Officers Present: 4. Surgeon

Non-commissioned Officers Present and Fit for Duty:
5. Sergeant 6. Drummer and Fifer

Rank and File Present and Fit for Duty: 7. Total
8. Sick in Quarters
9. Sick in Hospital
10. On Command
11. Recruiting
12. Recruits
13. Volunteers
14. On Furlough
15. Total

Wanted to Complete Allowance:
16. Sergeant 17. Drummer and Fifer

Alterations Since last Return:
18. Rank and File
19. Enlisted
20. Dead
21. Discharged
22. Deserted

(PCC, M247, R65, i51, Vol 2, p39-40)

Return of Two Companies of Loyal Refugees Whereof the late Honorable John Stuart, Esquire, His Majesty's late Sole Agent and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, for the Southern District of North America, (who died 21 March last) was Colonel, from 1 May to 30 Jun 1779, both days included, their old Headquarters at Natchez:

Captain William McIntosh	0-2-1-1-2-2-10-1-0-6-3-0-23-0-0-27-4-0-0-0-0-0
Captain Richard Pearis	0-2-0-0-2-1-13-0-0-4-0-0-0-2-19-1-0-31-0-0-0-0
Total	0-4-1-1-4-3-23-1-0-10-3-0-3-2-42-1-0-58-4-0-0-0

Captain Pearis, his fifer and 2 rank and file by Colonel Stuart's orders, on duty in East Florida
Captain McIntosh at Pensacola, by leave, to wait on Major General Campbell, for orders and settlement of accounts
Thomas Newman, Ensign, imprisoned at New Orleans on attempting to join his corps with recruits
A Sergeant and two rank and file, by Colonel Stuart's leave, at Pensacola.

Signed: William McIntosh, Captain
Loyal Refugees

(SEE Columnar Heading above)

(PCC, M247, R65, i51, Vol 2, p38)

Pay Bill for and agreeable to the return made for Captain Richard Pearis and Captain William McIntosh, Loyal Refugees, from 1 May to 30 Jun 1779, for 61 days

2 Captains at 10/ per day each	£ 61.0.0
4 Lieutenants at 5/ per day each	61.0.0
2 Ensigns at 4/ per day each	24.8.0
6 Sergeants at 60/ per month each	36.0.0
2 Drummers) 2 Fifers)-10 men at 40/ per month 6 Corporals)	400.0.0
Total Pay if the Companies were full	632.8.0
Deduct from 1 Sergeant short £6 Deduct from 58 rank and file L232	238.0.0
As the Companies are not full, total pay is only	£394.8.0

Received, Pensacola, 30 Jun 1779, from the Honorable Andrew Rainsford, Esq, John Mitchell, Robert Tait, Alexander MacCullagh and David Holmes, Esquires. Commissioners for exercising the office of His Majesty's sole Agent for Superintendent of Indian Affairs a sett of Bills of Exchange of this date, at 30 days sight on the Right Honorable the Lords Commissioner of His Majesty's Treasury for the sum of 394 pounds, 8 shillings, sterling, in full of the above pay bill, having signed 4 receipts of this tenor and date.

signed: William McIntosh, Captain
Loyal Refugees

On command, Captain Pearis, his Fifer and 2 rank and file, by Colonel Stuart's orders, on duty in East Florida
On furlough, a Sergeant and 2 Rank and File by Colonel Stuart's leave, at Pensacola
Not Joined, Thomas Newman, Ensign, imprisoned at New Orleans, on attempting to join his Corps with recruits

(PCC, M247, R65, i51, Vol 2, p 37)

Pay Bill of Captain Alexander Cameron's Company of Loyal Refugees commencing 1 Mar 1779 and ending 31 May following, 3 months or 92 days

1 Captain at 10/ sterling per diem	£ 46.0.0
2 Lieutenants at 5/ " " "	46.0.0
1 Ensign at 4/ " " "	18.8.0
3 Sergeants at 60/ " " month	27.0.0
3 Corporals at 50/ " " "	22.10.0
2 Drummers at 50/ " " "	15.0.0
50 privates including contingent men at 40/ per month each	300.0.0
	£474.18.0

Pensacola, 31 May 1779
Received from the Honorable Andrew Rainsford, Esquire, John Mitchell, Robert Taitt, Alexander McCullagh and David Holms, Esquire, Commissioner, for exercising the office of His Majesty's Sole Agent for and Superintendent of Indian Affairs a sett of bills of exchange of this date on the right

Honorable the Lord's Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury at 30 days sight

(PCC, M247, R65, i51, Vol 2, p81)

Pensacola, West Florida, 7 Jun 1779.
Receipt, Captain Alexander Cameron, to George Barnes, Commissary General of Indian Affairs, 2964 full rations for company of Loyal Refugees, 40 privates and 2 officers.

(PCC, M247, R65, i51, Vol 2, p111)

Abstract of Pay due to Captain Richard Pearis from 3d May 1780 being the time he was ordered by His Excellency, Sir Henry Clinton, to Ninety Six District to raise and embody the friends of government, until 20 Oct 1781, being 527 days at 10 shillings per day ---------- £ 263.10.0

Expences in the execution of the above duty, vizt:

2 horses killed and 1 mare taken	30.0.0
Express to General Williamson at Augusta by John Cunningham	4.0.0
Express to General Williamson, by Samuel Meeks	5.0.0
Express to Colonel Brown in Georgia	2.3.6
Express to Colonel Innes	3.5.0
Express to Captain Rysner	2.3.6
Total	£ 310.2.0
Received from General Leslie in part of this account	100.0.0
Balance due	£ 210.2.0

(PRO 30-55, Vol 33:3842)

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GEORGIA LOYALISTS

Muster, Major James Wright's Company, Georgia Loyalists, Abercorn, GA, 6 Dec 1779

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Major	Wright, James,	commissioned 1 May 1779
1	Ensign	Clark, Thomas, "	13 Aug 1779
1	Chaplain	Jenkins, Edward, "	1 Sept 1779 absent
1	Adjutant	Johnston, William,	commissioned 4 Oct 1779
1	Surgeon Genl	Beecroft, Samuel, "	1 Sept 1779, absent
1	Qtr-Mstr	Waldron, Lefford,	commissioned 6 Jun 1779
1	Sergeant	Dunbar, Richard,	enlisted 14 Jun 1779
2	"	Thomas, Evan,	enlisted 16 Jun 1779
3	"	Hutchinson, John,	enlisted 7 July, discharged
1	Corporal	Lasker, Robert,	enlisted 10 Jun 1779, absent with leave
2	"	Gimbold, Thomas,	enlisted 9 Sept
1	Drummer	Wilcox, John,	enlisted 17 Nov
1	Private	Slater, John,	enlisted 1 Jun
2	"	Davis, Thomas,	enlisted 20 Jun
3	"	Laurence, John,	enlisted 27 Jul
4	"	Strength, John,	enlisted 22 Aug
5	"	Godboy, Peter,	enlisted 20 Jun
6	"	Terry, Joseph,	enlisted 27 Jun
7	"	O'Bryan, James,	enlisted 19 Jun
8	"	Linden, Henry,	enlisted 7 Jun
9	"	Thompson, John,	enlisted 21 Jun
10	"	Steel, John,	enlisted 24 Oct
11	"	Fraser, Daniel,	enlisted 24 Oct
12	"	Eggleston, Thomas,	enlisted 26 Jun
13	"	Rudd, William,	enlisted 11 Sept
14	"	McGraw, Patrick,	enlisted 7 Jun, died 4 Oct
15	"	Smith, John,	enlisted 20 Jun, deserted 4 Oct
16	"	Parker, Jesse,	enlisted 20 Jun
17	"	Shipard, Whitney,	enlisted 27 Jun, died 13 Oct 1779
18	"	Harris, William,	enlisted 26 Jun, died 10 Aug 1779
19	"	Brooks, Joseph,	enlisted 20 Jun, died 13 Oct 1779
20	"	Wilson, John,	enlisted 4 Jul, died 6 Sept
21	"	Smith, Joseph,	enlisted 10 Jun
22	"	Smith, William,	enlisted 26 Jun, discharged 23 July
23	"	Griffith, Rolly,	enlisted 27 Jul, deserted 22 Sept
24	"	McDonald, John,	enlisted 2 Jul
25	"	Poplin, William,	enlisted 20 Jun
26	"	Dodd, Thomas,	enlisted 16 Aug
27	"	Sargeant, Thomas,	enlisted 19 Jul, died
28	"	Wilson, James,	enlisted 26 Jul, died

Militia Officers at Present Refugees in Charlestown, SC, of the South and North Carolina Regiments, etc.

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
2	Major	Devaux, Andrew,	101 days, 20 Nov-28 Feb 1782 Beaufort County
3	"	Ford, Joseph,	263 days, 11 Jun-28 Feb 1782 Cheraws County
4	"	Gibbs, Zachariah,	285 days, 20 May-28 Feb 82 Ninety Six District
5	"	McLaurin, Evan,	333 days, 1 Apr 81-28 Feb 82 Dutch Fork
6	"	Wofford, Benjamin,	233 days, 11 Jul 81-20 Spartan Regiment Feb 82
7	"	Torrant, Thomas,	59 days, 1 Jan-28 Feb 82 North Carolina
1	Captain	Brockington, John,	263 days, 11 Jun-28 Feb 82 Cheraws District
2	"	Cunningham, John,	112 days, 9 Nov 81-28 Feb Ninety Six District 1782
3	"	Lary, Darby,	286 days, 19 May 81-28 Feb 82 Ninety Six District
4	"	Rees, Benjamin,	280 days, 25 May 81-28 Feb 82 Santee
5	"	Rees, William,	280 days, 25 May-28 Feb 1782 Santee
6	"	Pearis, Richard,	90 days, 1 Dec 81-28 Feb 82 Florida
7	"	Outerbridge, White,	243 days, 1 Jul 81-28 Feb Charlestown, SC 1782
8	"	Millar, James,	200 days, 12 Aug-28 Feb 1782 Jackson's Creek

(PRO T50, Vol 3, Book 11:9)

Militia Officers at Present Refugees in Charlestown, SC, 4 Jun 1782, 92 days, 1 Mar-31 May 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Colonel	Ball, Elias,	Craven County
2	"	Buffington, Moses,	Dutch Fork, Ninety Six
3	"	Cary, James,	Camden, SC
4	"	Cassels, James,	Georgetown, SC
5	"	Fisher, John,	Orangeburgh
6	"	Gray, Robert,	Cheraws
7	"	Howarth, Probarth,	Fort Johnstone, NC
8	"	King, Richard,	Long Cane
9	"	Lechmere, Nicholas (died),	Granville County
10	"	Phillips, John,	Jackson's Creek
11	"	Plummer, Daniel,	Fair Forest
12	"	Wright, Gideon,	NC, 61 days, 1 Apr-31 May
1	Lieut Colonel	Anderson, Cuthbert,	Stevenson's Creek
2	" "	Ball, Elias, Jun.,	Craven County
3	" "	Cunningham, Patrick,	Little River
4	" "	Edghill, Thomas,	Ninety Six
5	" "	Fletchall, Thomas,	Ninety Six
6	" "	Galliard, Theodore,	Craven County
7	" "	Gregory, Benjamin,	Dutch Fork
8	" "	Hamilton, John,	Ninety Six
9	" "	McKenzie, Robert,	Colleton County
10	" "	Smith, Keeling,	Ninety Six
11	" "	Vernon, James,	Fair Forest

Militia Officers at Present Refugees in Charlestown, SC, 4 Jun 1782, 92 days, 1 Mar-31 May 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Major	Capers, Gabriel,	Berkley County
2	"	Deveaux, Andrew,	Granville County
3	"	Ford, James,	Cheraws
4	"	Gibbs, Zachariah,	Ninety Six District
5	"	McLaurin, Evan,	Dutch Fork
6	"	Wofford, Benjamin,	Ninety Six District
7	"	Tynes, Samuel,	515 days, 1 Jan 81-31 May 82 High Hills of Santee
8	"	Torrant, Thomas,	NC
1	Captain	Connoway, William,	35 days, 27 Apr-31 May 82 Ninety Six District
2	"	Cunningham, John,	Ninety Six District
3	"	Henderson, Robert,	Black River
4	"	Long, George,	Ninety Six District
5	"	Millar, James,	Jackson's Creek
6	"	Reisinger, Faight,	Dutch Fork
7	"	Rees, Benjamin,	Santee
8	"	Rees, William,	Santee
9	"	Pearis, Richard,	Ninety Six
10	"	Outerbridge, White,	Charlestown
11	"	Lary, Darby,	Ninety Six
		attest: Robert Gray, Colonel	

(PRO T50, Vol 3, Book 11:24)

Abstract of pay due Sundry Refugees of the First Class in Charlestown, SC

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1		Stewart, James,	273 days, 1 Jun 81-28 Feb 82 Georgetown
2		Bruce, Donald,	261 days, 13 Jun 81-28 Feb 82 Orangeburgh
3		Byerly, Casper,	127 days, 25 Oct 81-28 Feb 82 Broad River
4		Crowder, William,	47 days, 15 Mar-30 Apr 1782 Charlestown
		attest: Robert Gray, Pay Master Militia	

(PRO T50, Vol 3, Book 11:12)

Abstract of Pay due Refugees of the First Class now in Charlestown, SC, from period mentioned to 30 Jun 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Colonel	Ball, Elias, Sen.,	Craven County
2	"	Buffington, Moses,	Ninety Six District
3	"	Cary, James,	Camden District
4	"	Cassels, James,	Georgetown
5	"	Fisher, John,	Orangeburgh
6	"	Gray, Robert,	Cheraws
7	"	Howarth, Probarth,	Fort Johnstone
8	"	King, Richard,	Long Cane
9	"	Phillips, John,	Jackson's Creek
10	"	Plummer, Daniel,	Fair Forest
11	"	Wright, Gideon,	North Carolina
1	Lieut Colonel	Anderson, Robert,	Ninety Six District

Abstract of Pay due Refugees of the First Class now in Charlestown, SC, from period mentioned to 30 Jun 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
2	Lieut Colonel	Ball, Elias, Jun., Craven County	
3	" "	Cunningham, Patrick, Ninety Six	
4	" "	Edghill, Thomas, Ninety Six	
5	" "	Fletchall, Thomas, Ninety Six	
6	" "	Galliard, Theodore, Craven County	
7	" "	Gregory, Benjamin, Ninety Six	
8	" "	Hamilton, John, Ninety Six	
9	" "	McKenzie, Robert, Colleton County	
10	" "	Kelling, Smith, Ninety Six	
11	" "	Vernon, James, Ninety Six	
1	Major	Capers, Gabriel, Berkley County	
2	"	Deveaux, Andrew, Granville County	
3	"	Ford, James, Cheraws	
4	"	Gibbs, Zachariah, Ninety Six	
5	"	McLaurin, Evan, Ninety Six	
6	"	Wofford, Benjamin, Ninety Six	
7	"	Tynes, Samuel, Santee	
8	"	Torrant, Thomas, North Carolina	
1	Captain	Cunningham, John, Ninety Six	
2	"	Henderson, Robert, Black River	
3	"	Long, George, Ninety Six	
4	"	Millar, James, Jackson's Creek	
5	"	Reisinger, Faight, Ninety Six	
6	"	Rees, Benjamin, Santee	
7	"	Rees, William, Santee	
8	"	Pearis, Richard, Ninety Six	
9	"	Outerbridge, White, Charlestown	
10	"	Connoway, William, Ninety Six	
11	"	Lary, Darby, Ninety Six	
1	Refugee	Bruce, Donald, Orangeburgh	
2	"	Byerly, Casper, Broad River	
3	"	Crowther, Mary, Ninety Six	
4	"	Fridig, David, Congarees	
5	"	Legge, Edward, Ashley Ferry	
6	"	Mathews, Edmund, Rev., Amelia	
7	"	Stewart, James, Rev., Georgetown	
8	"	Lechemere, Nicholas, Granville County,	died, widow rec'd his pay

Additions:

1	Major	Cunningham, Andrew	
2	"	Stanyarne, Joseph, Colleton County	
3	"	Harvey, _____, Colleton County	
4	"	Phipps, _____, Colleton County	
5	"	Seabrooke, _____, St. John's, Colleton Cty	

Additions:

1	Colonel	Clary, Daniel, Ninety Six	
2	Lieut Colonel	Cunningham, Andrew, Ninety Six	
3	" "	Ballantyne, William, Ninety Six	
4	" "	Nealy, Christopher, Ninety Six	
5	" "	Neally, George, Ninety Six	
6	Brig General	Cunningham, Robert, 30 days, 30 Jun 1782	

Additions:

1	Colonel	Fisher, John, command of Orangeburgh Militia	on James Island, 30 days pay
2	Captain	Connoway, _____, left town on 14 Jun, 13	days pay deducted
3	Captain	Yarborough, James D., 122 days, 1 Mar-30 Jun	

Abstract of Pay due Refugees of the First Class now in Charlestown, SC, from period mentioned to 30 Jun 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
4	Captain	Legge, Ben S., 122 days, 1 Mar-30 Jun 1782	
5	Refugee	Balfour, Mrs. _____, 61 days, 1 May-30 Jun	

(PRO T50, Vol 3, Book 11:249)

Refugees of the First Class in Charlestown, SC, July 1782, 30 days, 1 Jun-30 Jun 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Brig General	Cunningham, Robert, Ninety Six District	
1	Colonel	Ball, Elias, Sen., Craven County	
2	"	Buffington, Moses, Ninety Six District	
3	"	Cassels, James, Georgetown	
4	"	Cary, James, 181 days, 1 Jan-30 Jun 1782	Ninety Six
5	"	Gray, Robert, Cheraws	
6	"	Howarth, Probarth, Fort Johnstone	
7	"	King, Richard, Long Cane	
8	"	Phillips, John, Jackson's Creek	
9	"	Plummer, Daniel, Ninety Six	
10	"	Wright, Gideon, North Carolina	
11	"	Fisher, John, Orangeburgh	
1	Lieut Colonel	Ball, Elias, Jun., Craven County	
2	" "	Ballantyne, William, 181 days, 1 Jan-30 Jun	Ninety Six District
3	" "	Cunningham, Andrew, Ninety Six District	
4	" "	Cunningham, Patrick, Ninety Six District	
5	" "	Edghill, Thomas, Ninety Six District	
6	" "	Fletchall, Thomas, Ninety Six District	
7	" "	Gilliard, Theodore, Craven County	
8	" "	Gregory, Benjamin, Ninety Six District	
9	" "	Hamilton, John, Ninety Six District	
10	" "	McKenzie, Robert, Colleton County	
11	" "	Smith, Keeling, Ninety Six District	
12	" "	Vernon, James, Ninety Six District	
1	Major	Capers, Gabriel, Berkley County	
2	"	Deveaux, Andrew, Granville County	
3	"	Ford, James, Cheraws	
4	"	Gibbs, Zachariah, Ninety Six District	
5	"	McLaurin, Evan, Ninety Six District	
6	"	Nealy, Christopher, Ninety Six District	
7	"	Wofford, Benjamin, Ninety Six District	
8	"	Tynes, Samuel, Santee	
9	"	Torrant, Thomas, North Carolina	
1	Captain	Connoway, William, left town 17 Jan 1782,	Ninety Six 17 days pay
2	"	Cunningham, John, Ninety Six	
3	"	Cunningham, Andrew, Colleton County	
4	"	Harvey, Alexander, Colleton County	
5	"	Henderson, Robert, Black River	
6	"	Leary, Darby, Ninety Six District	
7	"	Long, George, Ninety Six District	
8	"	Millar, James, Jackson County	
9	"	Outerbridge, White, Charlestown, SC	
10	"	Phipps, William, St. John's, Colleton County	
11	"	Pearis, Richard, Ninety Six District	
12	"	Reisinger, Faight, Ninety Six District	
13	"	Rees, Benjamin, Santee	

Refugees of the First Class in Charlestown, SC, July 1782, 30 days, 1 Jun-30 Jun 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
14	Captain	Rees, William, Santee	
15	"	Seabrooke, _____, St. John's, Colleton Cty	
16	"	Stanyard, Joseph, Colleton County	
1	Refugee	Bruce, Donald, Orangeburgh	
2	"	Byerly, Casper, Broad River	
3	"	Crowther, Mary, Ninety Six District	
4	"	Deveaux, Andrew, Granville County	
5	"	Fridig, David, Congarees	
6	"	Legge, Edward, Ashley Ferry	
7	"	Lechmere, Mrs._____, Granville County	
8	"	Mathews, Rev. Edmund, Amelia County	
9	"	Neally, George,181 days, 1 Jan-30 Jun 1782 Ninety Six District	
10	"	Stewart, Rev. James, Georgetown	

Addition:

17	Captain	Yarborough, James, 122 days, 1 Mar-30 Jun 82 Colleton County	
18	"	Legge, Benjamin, Ashley Ferry	

Addition:

11	Refugee	Balfour, Anne, Mrs., 61 days, 1 May-30 Jun Cheraws	
12	"	Antrobus, Isaac, 122 days, 1 Mar-30 Jun 1782 Georgia	
		attest: Robert Gray, Pay Master Militia	

(PRO T50, Vol 3, Book 11:32)

Refugees of the First Class in Charlestown, SC, 122 days, 1 Sept-31 Dec 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Brig General	Cunningham, Robert	
1	Colonel	Ball, Elias, Sen.	
2	"	Cary, James	
3	"	Cassels, James	
4	"	Clary, Daniel	
5	"	Gray, Robert	
6	"	King, Richard	
7	"	McNeill, Hector	
8	"	Phillips, John	
9	"	Plummer, Daniel	
1	Lieut Colonel	Ball, Elias, Jun.	
2	" "	Cunningham, Andrew	
3	" "	Edghill, Thomas	
4	" "	Fletchall, Thomas	
5	" "	Galliard, Theodore	
6	" "	Hamilton, John	
7	" "	McKay, Archibald	
8	" "	McKenzie, Robert	
9	" "	Vernon, James	
10	" "	Cunningham, Patrick	
1	Major	Capers, Gabriel	
2	"	Deveaux, Andrew	
3	"	Gibbs, Zachariah	
4	"	Nealy, Christopher	
5	"	Wofford, Benjamin	
6	"	Tynes, Samuel	

Refugees of the First Class in Charlestown, SC, 122 days, 1 Sept-31 Dec 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
7	Major	Torrant, Thomas	
1	Captain	Cunningham, John	
2	"	Cunningham, Andrew	
3	"	Harvey, Alexander	
4	"	Hendrick, William	
5	"	Lary, Darby	
6	"	Long, George	
7	"	Millar, James	
8	"	Molloy, Daniel	
9	"	Outerbridge, White	
10	"	Phipps, William, gone to the enemy	
11	"	Pearis, Richard	
12	"	Reisinger, Faight	
13	"	Rees, Benjamin	
14	"	Rees, William	
15	"	Seabrooke, Joseph	
16	"	Stanyarne, Joseph	
17	"	Legge, Benjamin Smith	
18	"	Yarborough, J. D.	
1	Refugee	Antrobus, Isaac	
2	"	Brailsford, Mrs. and family (John)	
3	"	Byerly, Casper	
4	"	Balfour, Mrs.	
5	"	Crowther, Mrs. Mary	
6	"	Deveaux, Andrew, Sen.	
7	"	Fridig, David	
8	"	Legge, Edward	
9	"	Lechemere, Mrs.	
10	"	McLaurin, Mrs.	
11	"	Mathews, Rev. Edmund	
12	"	Nealy, George	
13	"	Stewart, Rev., James	
		attest: Robert Gray, Pay Master Militia	

(PRO T50, Vol 3, Book 11:48)

Pay Abstract, Refugees of First Class, Charlestown, SC, 62 days, 1 Jul-31 Aug 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Brig General	Cunningham, Robert, Ninety Six District	
1	Colonel	Ball, Elias, Sen., Craven County	
2	"	Buffington, Moses, died, 55 days, 1 Jul-24 Aug 1782 Ninety Six	
3	"	Cary, James, Camden	
4	"	Cassels, James, Georgetown	
5	"	Clary, Daniel, Ninety Six District	
6	"	Gray, Robert, Cheraws	
7	"	Howarth, Probarth, 27 days, 1 Jul-27 Jul 82 Fort Johnstone	
8	"	King, Richard, Long Cane	
9	"	Phillips, John, Jackson's Creek	
10	"	Plummer, Daniel, Ninety Six District	
11	"	Wright, Gideon, died, 40 days, 1 Jul-9 Aug 82 North Carolina	
1	Lieut Colonel	Ball, Elias, Jun., Craven County	
2	" "	Cunningham, Andrew, Ninety Six District	
3	" "	Cunningham, Patrick, Ninety Six District	
4	" "	Edgehill, Thomas, Ninety Six District	

Pay Abstract, Refugees of First Class, Charlestown, SC, 62 days, 1 Jul-31 Aug 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
5	Lieut Colonel	Fletchall, Thomas, Ninety Six District	
6	" "	Galliard, Theodore, Berkley County	
7	" "	Gregory, Benjamin, died, 1 Jul-31 Jul 1782 Ninety Six District	
8	" "	Hamilton, John, 62 days, 1 Jul-31 Aug 1782 Ninety Six District	
9	" "	McKenzie, Robert, Colleton County	
10	" "	Vernon, James, Ninety Six District	
1	Major	Capers, Gabriel, Berkley County	
2	"	Deveaux, Andrew, Granville County	
3	"	Gibbs, Zachariah, Ninety Six District	
4	"	Nealy, Christopher, Ninety Six District	
5	"	Wofford, Benjamin, Ninety Six District	
6	"	Tynes, Samuel, Camden District	
7	"	Torrant, Thomas, North Carolina	
1	Captain	Cunningham, John, Ninety Six District	
2	"	Cunningham, Andrew, Colleton County	
3	"	Harvey, Alexander, Colleton County	
4	"	Henderson, Robert, Black River	
5	"	Leary, Darby, Ninety Six District	
6	"	Long, George, Jackson's Creek	
7	"	Millar, James, Jackson's Creek	
8	"	Outerbridge, White, Charlestown	
9	"	Phipps, William, Colleton County	
10	"	Pearis, Richard, Ninety Six District	
11	"	Reisinger, Faight, Ninety Six District	
12	"	Rees, Benjamin, Santee	
13	"	Seabrooke, Joseph, St. Johns, Colleton	
14	"	Stanyarne, Joseph, St. Johns, Colleton	
15	"	Hendrick, William, Ninety Six District	
1	Captain	Legge, Benjamin Smith, Colleton County	
2	"	Yarborough, J. D., Colleton County	
1	Refugee	Antrobus, Mr. Isaac, Georgia	
2	"	Brailsford, Mrs., and family (John)	
3	"	Bruce, Donald, 46 days, 1 Jul-15 Aug, joined Orangeburgh	the enemy
4	"	Byerly, Casper, Broad River	
5	"	Balfour, Mrs. Mary Ann, Cheraws	
6	"	Crowther, Mrs. Mary, Ninety Six District	
7	"	Deveaux, Andrew, Sen., Granville County	
8	"	Fridig, David, Congarees	
9	"	Legge, Edward, Colleton	
10	"	Lechemere, Mrs. Nicholas, Granville	
11	"	McLaurin, Mrs., _____, Dutch Fork	
12	"	Mathews, Edmund, Rev., Amelia	
13	"	Neally, George, Ninety Six District	
14	"	Stewart, James, Rev., Georgetown	
Additions:			
1	Colonel	McNeil, Hector	
2	"	McKay, Archibald	
1	Captain	Molloy, Daniel	

(Note: Major McLaurin is deceased.)

attest: Robert Gray, Pay Master Militia
Edward Scott, Secretary

(PRO T50, Vol 3, Book 11:386)

Refugees of the First Class in Charlestown, SC, 16 Sept 1782, 62 days, 1 Jul-31 Aug 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Brig General	Cunningham, Robert, Ninety Six District	
1	Colonel	Ball, Elias, Sen., Craven County	
2	"	Buffington, Moses, 55 days, 1 Jul-24 Aug Ninety Six District	died
3	"	Cary, James, Camden	
4	"	Cassels, James, Georgetown	
5	"	Clary, Daniel, Ninety Six	
6	"	Gray, Robert, Cheraws	
7	"	King, Richard, Long Cane	
8	"	Phillips, John, Jackson's Creek	
9	"	Plummer, Daniel, Ninety Six	
10	"	Wright, Gideon, 40 days, 1 Jul-9 Aug, died North Carolina	
11	"	Howarth, Probarth, 27 days, 1 Jul-27 Jul 82 Fort Johnstone	
1	Lieut Colonel	Ball, Elias, Jun., Craven County	
2	" "	Cunningham, Andrew, Ninety Six	
3	" "	Cunningham, Patrick, Ninety Six	
4	" "	Edghill, Thomas, Ninety Six	
5	" "	Fletchall, Thomas, Ninety Six	
6	" "	Gallard, Theodore, Berkley County	
7	" "	Gregory, Benjamin, 1 Jul-31 Jul, 30 days, Ninety Six District	died
8	" "	Hamilton, John, Ninety Six District	
9	" "	McKenzie, Robert, Colleton County	
10	" "	Person, James, Ninety Six	
1	Major	Capers, Gabriel, Berkley County	
2	"	Deveaux, Andrew, Granville County	
3	"	Gibbs, Zachariah, Ninety Six	
4	"	Nealy, Christopher, Ninety Six	
5	"	Wofford, Benjamin, Ninety Six	
6	"	Tynes, Samuel, Camden	
7	"	Torrant, Thomas, North Carolina	
1	Captain	Cunningham, John, Ninety Six	
2	"	Cunningham, Andrew, Colleton	
3	"	Harvey, Alexander, Colleton	
4	"	Henderson, Robert, Black River	
5	"	Hendrick, William, Ninety Six	
6	"	Leary, Darby, Ninety Six	
7	"	Long, George, Ninety Six	
8	"	Millar, James, Jackson's Creek	
9	"	Outerbridge, White, Charlestown	
10	"	Phipps, William, Colleton County	
11	"	Pearis, Richard, Ninety Six	
12	"	Reisinger, Faight, Ninety Six	
13	"	Rees, Benjamin, Santee	
14	"	Rees, William, Santee	
15	"	Seabrooks, Joseph, St. Johns, Colleton	
16	"	Stanyarn, Joseph, St. Johns, Colleton	
1	Captain	Legge, Benjamin Smith, Colleton County	
2	"	Yarborough, J. D., Colleton County	
1	Refugee	Antrobus, Isaac, Georgia	
2	"	Brailsford, Mrs. and family	
3	"	Bruce, Donald, 1 Jul-15 Aug, 46 days, joined Orangeburgh	the enemy
4	"	Byerly, Casper, Broad River	
5	"	Crowther, Mrs., Ninety Six	
6	"	Deveaux, Andrew, Granville County	
7	"	Fridig, David, Congarees	
8	"	Legge, Edward, Colleton County	

Refugees of the First Class in Charlestown, SC, 16 Sept 1782, 62 days, 1 Jul-31 Aug 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
9	Refugee	Lechmere, Mrs., Granville County	
10	"	McLaurin, Mrs., Dutch Fork	
11	"	Matthews, Edmund, Rev., Amelia	
12	"	Nealy, George, Ninety Six District	
13	"	Stewart, James, Rev., Georgetown	

Addition:

1	Colonel	McNiell, Hector, 92 days, 1 Jun-31 Aug 1782 North Carolina	
2	Lieut Colonel	McKay, Archibald, North Carolina	
3	Captain	Molloy, _____	
4	Refugee	Balfour, Mrs. Mary Ann, Cheraws	
		attest: Robert Gray, Pay Master Militia	

(PRO T50, Vol 3, Book 11:40)

Refugees Pay, First Class, Charlestown, SC, 122 days, 1 Sept - Dec 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Brig General	Cunningham, Robert, Ninety Six	
1	Colonel	Ball, Elias, Sen., Craven County	
2	"	Cary, James, Camden County	
3	"	Cassels, James, Georgetown	
4	"	Clary, Daniel, Ninety Six	
5	"	Gray, Robert, Cheraws	
6	"	King, Richard, Ninety Six	
7	"	Phillips, John, Jackson's Creek	
8	"	Plummer, Daniel, Ninety Six District	
9	"	McNiell, Hector, North Carolina	
1	Lieut Colonel	Ball, Elias, Craven County	
2	" "	Cunningham, Andrew, Ninety Six District	
3	" "	Cunningham, Patrick, Ninety Six District	
4	" "	Edghill, Thomas, Ninety Six District	
5	" "	Fletchall, Thomas, Ninety Six District	
6	" "	Galliard, Theodore, Berkley County	
7	" "	Hamilton, John, Ninety Six District	
8	" "	McKay, Archibald, North Carolina	
9	" "	McKenzie, Robert, Colleton County	
10	" "	Vernon, James, Ninety Six	
1	Major	Capers, Gabriel, Berkley County	
2	"	Deveaux, Andrew, Granville County	
3	"	Gibbs, Zachariah, Ninety Six	
4	"	Nealy, Christopher, Ninety Six	
5	"	Wofford, Benjamin, Ninety Six	
6	"	Tynes, Samuel, Camden	
7	"	Torrant, Thomas, North Carolina	
1	Captain	Cunningham, John, Ninety Six	
2	"	Cunningham, Andrew, Colleton	
3	"	Harvey, Alexander, Colleton	
4	"	Hendrick, William, Ninety Six	
5	"	Leary, Darby, Ninety Six	
6	"	Long, George, Ninety Six	
7	"	Millar, James, Jackson's Creek	
8	"	McCloy, Daniel, North Carolina	
9	"	Outerbridge, White, Charlestown	
10	"	Phipps, William, St. Johns, Colleton	
11	"	Pearis, Richard, Ninety Six	
12	"	Reisinger, Faight, Ninety Six	

Refugees Pay, First Class, Charlestown, SC, 122 days, 1 Sept - Dec 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
13	Captain	Rees, Benjamin, Santee	
14	"	Rees, William, Santee	
15	"	Seabrooke, Joseph, St. Johns, Colleton	
16	"	Stanyarne, Joseph, St. Johns, Colleton	
17	"	Legge, Benjamin Smith, Ashley Ferry	
18	"	Yarborough, J. D., Colleton County	
1	Refugee	Antrobus, Isaac, Georgia	
2	"	Brailsford, Mrs. John and family England	
3	"	Byerly, Casper, Broad River	
4	"	Balfour, Mrs. Mary Ann, Cheraws	
5	"	Crowther, Mrs. Mary, Ninety Six District	
6	"	Deveaux, Andrew, Granville County	
7	"	Fridig, David, Congarees	
8	"	Legge, Edward, Colleton County	
9	"	Lechemere, Mrs. Nicholas, Granville County	
10	"	McLaurin, Mrs. Evan, Dutch Fork	
11	"	Mathews, Edward, Rev., Amelia	
12	"	Neally, George, Ninety Six	
13	"	Stewart, James, Rev., Georgetown	
		attest: Robert Gray, Pay Master Militia 1 Sept 1782	

(PRO T50, Vol 3, Book 11:413)

Refugees of the First Class now in Charlestown, SC, 92 days, 1 Mar-31 May 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Refugee	Bruce, Donald, Orangeburgh	
2	"	Byerly, Casper, Broad River	
3	"	Crowther, Mary, 31 days, 1 May-31 May 1782 Ninety Six	
4	"	Fridig, David, 61 days, 1 Apr-31 May 1782 Congarees	
5	"	Legge, Edward, Ashley Ferry	
6	"	Mathews, Edmund, Rev., Amelia Township	
7	"	Stewart, James, Georgetown	

(PRO T50, Vol 3, Book 11:25)

Refugees of the Second Class now in Charlestown, SC, 28 May 1782

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Refugee	Colson, John, 1 Apr-31 May 1782 North Carolina	

(PRO T50, Vol 3, Book 11:23)

Pennsylvania Loyalists:

Ensign J. H. Kearny, born in America, a Gentleman, the Major's brother, served 1 year in Provincial Corps.

Chaplain Henry Addison, born in America, clergyman from Maryland, served 1 year in Provincial Corps.

Adjutant William Kean, born in Ireland, formerly a Sergeant in the Regiment, served 6 years in Provincial Corps.

Quarter-Master Thomas Hart, born in Ireland, formerly a Sergeant in the Regiment, served 6 years in Provincial Corps.

Surgeon John Cristoll, born in Scotland, served 6 years in Provincial Corps.

South Carolina Royalists:

Colonel Alexander Innes, born in Scotland, a Gentleman, is Inspector General of British American Forces, sold a company in the 63rd Regiment before the war, which he purchased and was settled in South Carolina, Secretary to the Governor, served 7 years in Provincial Corps.

Major Thomas Fraser, born in Scotland, previously a merchant in Virginia, served 7 years in Provincial Corps.

Captain Charles S. Lindsay, born in Scotland, previously a Sergeant in the 21st Regiment, served 6 years in Provincial Corps.

Captain Alexander Campbell, born in Scotland, a volunteer with the Army, served 5 years in Provincial Corps.

Captain George Dawkins, born in America, a Gentleman of South Carolina, served 5 years in Provincial Corps.

Captain Lewis Kenin, born in Germany, formerly a lieutenant in the Hessian Service, served 3 years in Provincial Corps.

Captain John Harrison, born in America, Gentleman of Virginia, served 3 years in Provincial Corps.

Captain-Lieutenant Samuel Harrison, born in America, Gentleman of Virginia, served 3 years in Provincial Corps.

Lieutenant Daniel Cornwall, born in America, a Gentleman of Long Island, served 7 years in Provincial Corps.

Lieutenant Charles J. Allicocke, born in America, son of a merchant in New York, served 3 years in Provincial Corps.

Lieutenant Joel Hudson, born in America, a Gentleman of South Carolina, served 3 years in Provincial Corps.

Lieutenant Stephen Jarvis, born in America, a Gentleman of Connecticut, served 3 years in Provincial Corps.

Lieutenant Richard Lewis, born in America, a Gentleman of North Carolina, served 3 years in Provincial Corps.

Lieutenant D. Cockburne, born in Scotland, previously a Sergeant in the 82nd Regiment, served 3 years in Provincial Corps.

Lieutenant J. E. Boisseau, born in America, a Gentleman from South Carolina, served 3 years in Provincial Corps.

Ensign N. B. Miller, born in America, a Gentleman from Rhode Island, served 3 years in Provincial Corps.

Ensign Henry Livingstone, born in America, a Gentleman of New York, served 3 years in Provincial Corps.

Ensign William Davis, born in England, a Gentleman from England, served 3 years in Provincial Corps.

Ensign John Coxe, born in America, a Gentleman from Philadelphia, served 2 years in Provincial Corps.

Ensign Tobias Miller, born in Germany, a Sergeant from the Hessian Yagers, served 2 years in Provincial Corps.

Ensign Thomas Lane, born in America, a Gentleman from South Carolina, served 3 years in Provincial Corps.

Ensign J. H. Fleiger, born in Germany, a Sergeant from the 60th Regiment, served 1 year in Provincial Corps.

South Carolina Royalists:

Chaplain Edward Jenkins, born in England, was settled in Georgia, served 1 year in Provincial Corps.

Quarter-Master Mathew Gregg, born in America, Gentleman of Virginia, served 5 years in Provincial Corps.

Surgeon Joshua Hatton, born in England, Surgeon from England, served 4 years in Provincial Corps.

King's Carolina Rangers:

Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Browne, born in England, Superintendent of the Indian Department to the Southwest, served 7 years in Provincial Corps.

Major James Wright, born in America, a Gentleman of Georgia, son of Sir James Wright, Governor of Georgia, served 4 years in the Provincial Corps.

Captain Alexander C. Wylly, born in America, a Gentleman of Georgia, served 6 years in Provincial Corps.

Captain Samuel Roworth, born in England, was settled in Georgia, served 6 years in Provincial Corps.

Captain Joshua Smith, born in America, a planter, served 6 years in Provincial Corps.

Captain Robert Lawe, born in Ireland, a Gentleman, was a Lieutenant in the 60th Regiment, served 3 years in Provincial Corps.

Captain Joshua Marshall, born in Ireland, Gentleman from Georgia, served 3 years in Provincial Corps.

Captain Daniel Cameron, born in Scotland, served 5 years in Provincial Corps.

Captain William Wylly, born in America, a Gentleman from Georgia, served 2 years in Provincial Corps.

Captain J. B. Randall, born in England, was settled in Georgia, served 4 years in Provincial Corps.

Lieutenant Daniel Ellis, born in America, a Gentleman of New Jersey, served 5 years in Provincial Corps.

Lieutenant James C. Browne, born in England, formerly a Sergeant of the Guards, served 4 years in Provincial Corps.

Lieutenant John Hybert, born in England, Surveyor of Lands, served 3 years in Provincial Corps.

Lieutenant John Anderson, born in America, served 4 years in Provincial Corps.

Lieutenant James Smith, born in England, served 4 years in Provincial Corps.

Lieutenant William Jones, born in England, a Gentleman, nephew to the Chief Justice of Georgia, served 4 years in Provincial Corps.

Lieutenant Archibald Cameron, born in Scotland, volunteer with the Army, served 3 years in Provincial Corps.

Lieutenant William Paterson, born in West Indies, a planter previously, served 7 years in Provincial Corps.

Lieutenant Jacob Obman, born in Germany, previously a Sergeant from the 60th Regiment, served 6 years in the Provincial Corps.

Lieutenant Daniel Egan, born in Ireland, served 6 years in Provincial Corps.

Ensign John O'Halleran, born in Ireland, was a Surgeon in the Navy, served 3 years in Provincial Corps.

Ensign Richard Parris, born in America, a planter, served 3 years in the Provincial Corps.

Ensign Benjamin Douglas, born in America, a planter, served in the Provincial Corps for 3 years.

Ensign Lefford Waldron, born in America, a planter, served in Provincial Corps for 7 years.

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Ensign Henry Livingstone, born in America, a Gentleman of New York, served 3 years in Provincial Corps.

Ensign William Davis, born in England, a Gentleman from England, served 3 years in Provincial Corps.

Ensign John Coxe, born in America, a Gentleman from Philadelphia, served 2 years in Provincial Corps.

Ensign Tobias Miller, born in Germany, a Sergeant from the Hessian Yagers, served 2 years in Provincial Corps.

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Captain Samuel Roworth, born in England, was settled in Georgia, served 6 years in Provincial Corps.

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Captain Joshua Marshall, born in Ireland, Gentleman from Georgia, served 3 years in Provincial Corps.

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Lieutenant John Anderson, born in America, served 4 years in Provincial Corps.

Lieutenant James Smith, born in England, served 4 years in Provincial Corps.

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Ensign Benjamin Douglas, born in America, a planter, served in the Provincial Corps for 3 years.

Ensign Lefford Waldron, born in America, a planter, served in Provincial Corps for 7 years.

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Rule 43(2) 43-3-4

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Legislation in the S

R 72-5-3C 573 (1984)

Muster, Captain Joseph Smith's Company, King's Rangers, Augusta, GA, 24 Apr 1781, 61 days, 25 Apr-24 Jun 1781

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Captain	Smith, Joseph	
1	Lieutenant	Hybert, John, recruiting in Charlestown	
1	Ensign ✔	Pearis, Richard	
1	Sergeant	Connell, Joseph	
2	"	Baker, William	
3	"	Paxton, William	
1	Corporal	Gibbs, Stephen	
2	"	Thornton, Joseph	
3	"	Whitman, Richard	
1	Drummer	Black, Peter	
1	Private	Vines, Harbert	
2	"	Tate, William	
3	"	Tate, Jeremiah	
4	"	McCary, Lachlin	
5	"	Owens, John	
6	"	Wedgewood, John	
7	"	Whaley, Charles	
8	"	Stapleton, George	
9	"	Wright, Nathan	
10	"	Brooks, Robert	
11	"	Berry, William	
12	"	Kelly, Thomas	
13	"	France, Abram	
14	"	Jones, John	
15	"	Jones, Brittain	
16	"	Hover, John	
17	"	Lane, James	
18	"	Ware, Thomas	
19	"	Cryder, Christian	
20	"	Greer, William	
21	"	Febiger, John	
22	"	Hull, John	
23	"	Barrs, William	
24	"	Syfrett, Philip	
25	"	Price, John	
26	"	Yellow, Gilbert, absent with leave	
27	"	Knight, Jacob	
28	"	Felder, Peter	
29	"	Wetsail, Martin	
30	"	Wilkins, William	
31	"	Marr, Martin	
32	"	Duncan, James	
33	"	Jones, William	
34	"	Thompson, William, prisoner with rebels	
35	"	Stroud, Julius, " " "	
36	"	Linen, William, " " "	
37	"	Smith, Benjamin, " " "	
38	"	Nigh, Wolf, " " "	
39	"	Vessels, James, " " "	
40	"	Collins, Peter, " " "	
41	"	Barry, Richard, recruiting	
42	"	Parker, John	
43	"	Turner, John	
44	"	Morris, Patrick	
45	"	Hillburn, John	
46	"	Moore, Joseph, on furlough	
47	"	White, James	
48	"	Davis, William	
49	"	Ashley, John	

Muster, Captain Joseph Smith's Company, King's Rangers, Augusta, GA, 24 Apr 1781, 61 days, 25 Apr-24 Jun 1781

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
50	Private	Ownby, Arthur, on furlough	
51	"	Ownby, Thomas, on furlough	
52	"	Dampier, Daniel	
53	"	Perkins, William	
54	"	Price, Elijah, died 20 Dec 1780	
55	"	Martin, Archy, killed 24 Dec 1780	
56	"	Jackson, Jordan, " " " "	

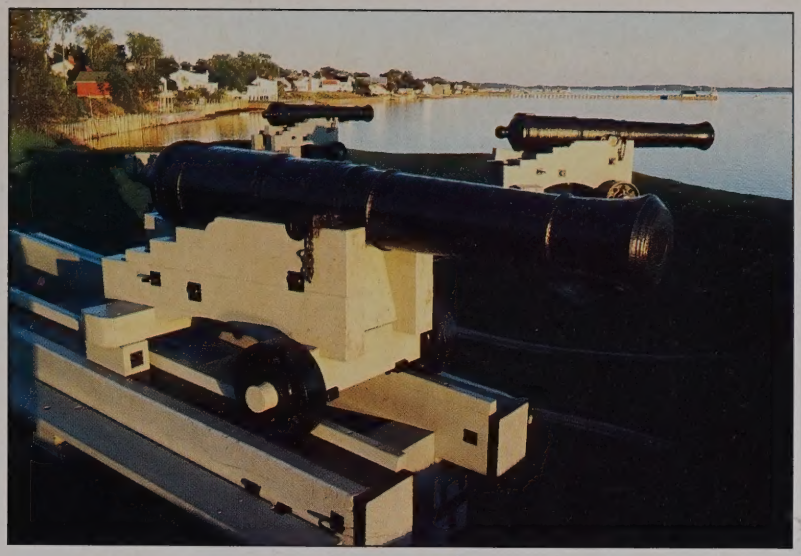
Mustered at Augusta, 24 Apr 1781: 1 captain, 1 ensign, 3 sergeants, 3 corporals, 1 drummer, 40 effective private men

attest: John Jenkins, Deputy Muster Master
Provincial Forces
Joseph Smith, Captain
King's Rangers

(PAC, RG8I "C" Series, Vol 1898)

Muster, Captain Joseph Smith's Company, King's Rangers, Savannah, GA, 24 Oct 1781, 61 days, 25 Oct-24 Dec 1781

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks
1	Captain	Smith, Joseph	
1	Lieutenant	Hybert, John	
1	Ensign ✔	Pearis, Richard	
1	Sergeant	Cornett, Joseph	
2	"	Baker, William	
3	"	Paxton, William, prisoner with rebels	
1	Corporal	Whitmore, Richard	
2	"	Gibbs, Stephen, prisoner with rebels	
3	"	Thaxton, Joseph, " " "	
1	Drummer	Black, Peter	
1	Private	Yellow, Gilbert	
2	"	Owins, John	
3	"	Stapleton, George	
4	"	Kelly, Thomas	
5	"	Lane, James	
6	"	Ware, Thomas	
7	"	Cryder, Christian	
8	"	Price, John	
9	"	Duncan, James	
10	"	Owenby, Arthur	
11	"	Owenby, Thomas	
12	"	Dampier, Daniel	
13	"	Barrs, William	
14	"	Brooks, Robert	
15	"	Thompson, William	
16	"	Holly, Jonathan	
17	"	Cotter, David	
18	"	Raiman, William	
19	"	Hawkins, Samuel	
20	"	Wallace, James	
21	"	McCalep, Robert, enlisted 4 Sept 1781	
22	"	Cox, John, enlisted 7 Sept 1781	
23	"	Cox, Joel, enlisted 7 Sept 1781	
24	"	Jones, John, returned from being a prisoner with the rebels, 2 Oct 1781, back pay from 25 Jun-24 Oct, 122 days	



FRANK GRANT/INTERNATIONAL STOCK PHOTO

LOYALIST REFUGE

When their side lost the Revolution, New Englanders who had backed Britain packed up, sailed north, and established the town of St. Andrews, New Brunswick. It still flourishes.

by Donald R. Canton

When in 1783 it became clear that a band of American rebels had succeeded in their insurrection against King George, Robert Pagan and 443 of his neighbors in Castine, Maine, did the only thing loyal subjects of the Crown could do: they dismantled their houses and pubs, board by board and nail by nail, piled them onto schooners, and sailed for the northern Crown colonies. There, at the confluence of the St. Croix River and Passamaquoddy Bay, just a coin's throw across the Maritime border of what is now Maine, the Penobscot Loyalists shook the dust of revolution from their heels and secured a piece of the Empire. Financed by the royal treasury and carefully laid out in advance by George III's deputy surveyor general of Nova Scotia, St. Andrews would become a paragon of royal benevolence and Loyalist industry.

Two centuries later St. Andrews is still a paragon, a town of redolent English gardens, gleaming white churches, and classic houses abiding in the shade of hoary elms and chestnuts. Though born as a Loyalist Canaan and nurtured as a tumultuous mercantile hub in the age of sail, St. Andrews emerged from the nineteenth century not as a commercial prodigy but as a resort, a Maritime haunt for the famous, the near famous, and the indisputably rich from both sides of the border. The thread that binds all three eras, and the enduring appeal of this community on the cusp of the Old World and the New Republic, is a varied architecture with a distinctive vernacular tang, set in a region cut whole from the quarry of North America—one of the last areas

Above, three 18-pound cannon command Passamaquoddy Bay. Opposite, clapboard shops line Water Street, St. Andrews's commercial thoroughfare.

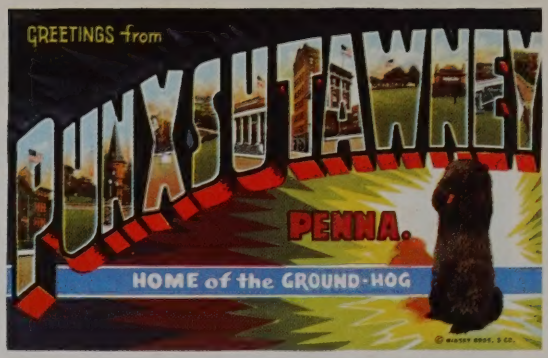
OPPOSITE PAGE: GARY CRALLE/IMAGE BANK

Me State. The full expression is "I'm from Missouri; you've got to show me." Although no one knows who originated the statement, it is often associated with Willard Duncan Vandiver (1854–1932), who served three terms in Congress and was a popular after-dinner speaker. Vandiver made such effective use of the Show Me anecdote at a festive occasion in Philadelphia in 1899 that the statement traveled around the world, giving Missourians a reputation for heavy skepticism.

Below the state level many of the 3,049 counties in the United States also have a nickname (from "a nekename," incidentally, which is Middle English for an *also* name). Some are unlovely. Klamath County, Oregon, offers a mind-numbing specimen of how a public relations effort can go astray. Klamath is, they say, the Center of the Great Western Market in Southern Oregon's Finest Recreationland. And from New Mexico comes a recently unveiled slogan with a long reach, Albuquerque—a Little West of Washington, a Little East of L.A.

Happy the community that can lay claim to something more specific. In Farmington, Maine, a hundred and eighteen years ago one Chester Greenwood invented earmuffs and made Farmington the Earmuff Capital of the World. In Deaf Smith County, Texas, the county seat, Hereford, provides its citizens with natural fluorides and iodides that it proclaims itself the Town without a Toothache.

Crystal City, Texas, calls itself the Spinach Capital of the World, and in 1937 city fathers reinforced the claim by erecting a statue of Popeye the Sailor Man. Some nicknames have the ring of an old truth to them. Consider the title American vernacular nomenclature bestowed on Muskegon during the white pine era. Forty-eight sawmills once tore, snarled, and whined on the shores of Lake Muskegon, and some three hundred women provided entertainment along the six busy blocks known as Sawdust Flats. The "Sawdust" made Muskegon the Red Light Queen.



A hundred and eighteen years ago, one Chester Greenwood made Farmington, Maine, the Earmuff Capital of the World.

Some of these nicknames and slogans are famous; others never caught on. Some are the result of legislative action, but most reflect private economic interests and celebrate a dominant industry or hustle for tourism. The sampling below has been chosen from among literally thousands available, each vibrating with local pride. ★

Gerald Carson, who died in 1989, was a Contributing Editor of American Heritage.

DERIVATIVE NICKNAMES

Boston, Mass.	Athens of America
Lexington, Ky.	Athens of the West
Waco	Athens of Texas
Fayetteville	Athens of Arkansas
Albany, N.Y.	Edinburgh of America
Lake Placid, N.Y.	America's Switzerland
Memphis, Tenn.	Babylon on the Bluff
Pensacola, Fla.	Annapolis of the Air
Bennington, Vt.	Williamsburg of the North
Lincoln, Nebr.	Hartford of the West
Rapid City	Denver of South Dakota
Fairbanks	Kansas City of Alaska

DESCRIPTIVE NICKNAMES

Pittsburgh, Pa.	Big Smoke
Chicago, Ill.	Big Windy
Leadville, Colo.	Cloud City
New Jersey	Cockpit of the Revolution
Fredericksburg, Va.	Cockpit of the Civil War
Denver, Colo.	Mile High City
Hoboken, N.J.	Mile Square City
Bismarck, N.D.	City Beside the Broad Missouri
San Diego, Calif.	City in Motion
Rochester, N.Y.	City Built by Hands
Coral Gables, Fla.	City Beautiful
Alaska	America's Icebox
Fairbanks, Alaska	Frostbite
Mobile, Ala.	Picnic City
Tulsa, Okla.	Most Northern Southern City
Brownsville, Tex.	City Where Mexico Meets Uncle Sam
Tombstone, Ariz.	Town Too Tough to Die

INVENTIVE NICKNAMES

Pennsylvania	Birthplace of the Nation
Dayton, Ohio	Birthplace of Aviation
Cooperstown, N.Y.	Birthplace of Baseball
San Diego	Birthplace of California
Waikiki, Hawaii	Birthplace of Surfing

"CITY OF" NICKNAMES

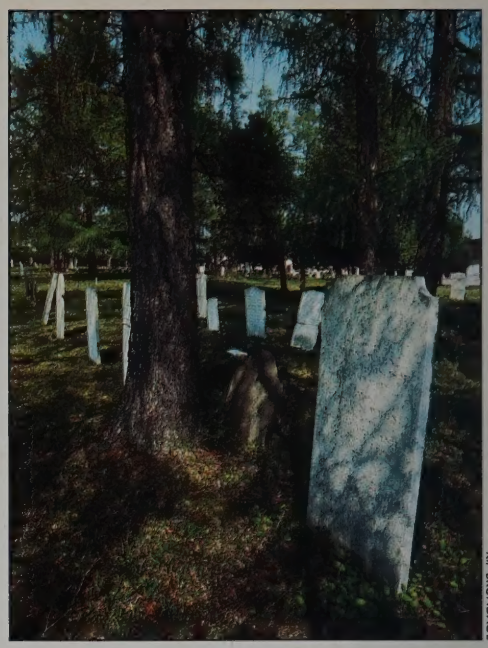
Pullman, Ill.	City of Brick
New Haven, Ct.	City of Elms
Birmingham, Ala.	City of Executives
Huntsville, Ala.	City of Governors
Colorado Springs, Colo.	City of Millionaires
Quincy, Mass.	City of Presidents
Washington, D.C.	City of Receptions
Sheboygan, Wis.	City of Cheese, Chairs, Children, and Churches

ECONOMIC NICKNAMES

Waterbury, Ct.	Brass City
Akron, Ohio	Rubber City
Wheeling, W. Va.	Nail City
Kalamazoo, Mich.	Celery City
Allentown, Pa.	Cement City
Rochester, N.Y.	Snapshot City
Annapolis, Md.	Crabtown
Yakima, Wash.	Fruitbowl of the Nation
Chicago, Ill.	Hog Butcher for the World
Sacramento, Calif.	Almond Capital of the World
Les Allemands, La.	Catfish Capital of the World

LEFT: CURT TEICH COLLECTION, LAKE COUNTY MUSEUM, WAUCONDA, ILL.; RIGHT: VISITORS & CONVENTION BUREAU, BATTLE CREEK, MICH.


THE GRIST MILL
Sea
Captain
Loft



KIP BRUNDAGE

Tall trees shade the cemetery where many of the original Penobscot Loyalists lie buried.

MAPS BY JOE LEMONNIER

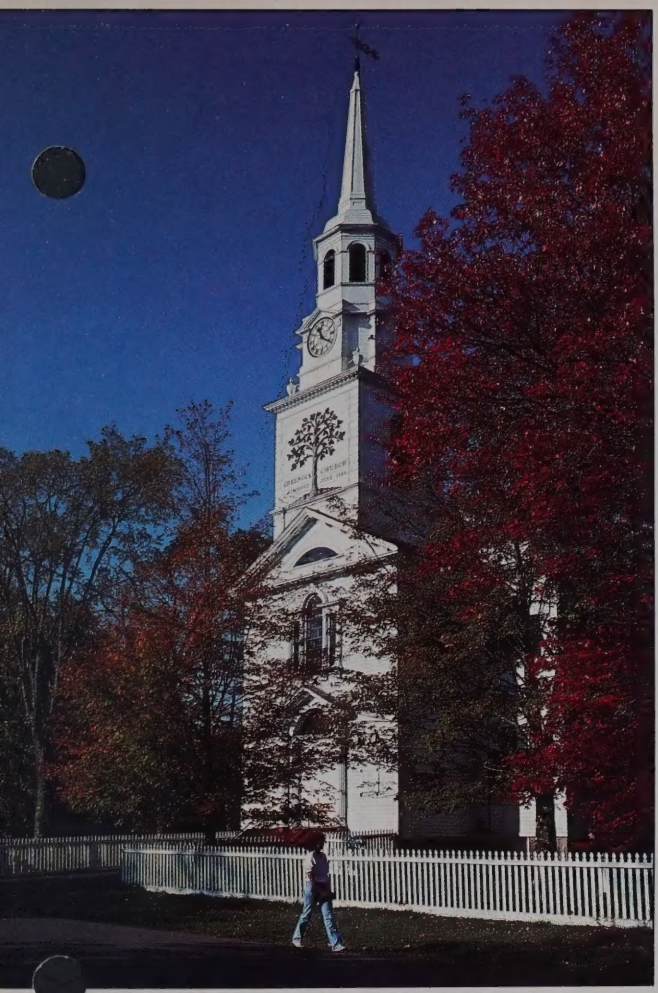
Situated just across the Maine border in New Brunswick, Canada (right), St. Andrews centers on a neat grid (above) where most of the historic sites lie within walking distance of the hotels.

on the Eastern seaboard still bearing some semblance to what John Cabot found in 1497.

The Penobscot Loyalists set ashore beside the site of what is now Market Wharf, which hooks like a great fish barb far into the bay from the heart of Water Street, the town's main byway. Come by sea or come by land, Water Street is a surprise; few places in North America have better preserved themselves against the caustic flow of time. Across from the wharf your eye catches the 1881 Shiretown Inn, originally the Kennedy Hotel and one of the two oldest summer hotels in Canada. A young Franklin Delano Roosevelt stayed here on an overnight yachting jaunt from the family cottage on nearby Campobello Island. To your immediate left is the plain brick customhouse, which once employed the father of Oliver Goldsmith, namesake and grandnephew of the eighteenth-century Anglo-Irish poet. Young Goldsmith published the first book of poetry by a native Canadian, its title work a paean to his Loyalist birthplace, St. Andrews. He called it *The Rising Village*, an allusion to his uncle's 1770 masterpiece, *The Deserted Village*. Now walk to Water Street and glance left. A block or so down is the Dunn-McQuoid house, St. Andrews's first two-story building, disassembled in New York and reerected here in 1784. Its rafters still bear the crudely etched numbers used to reconstruct it. A block to the right of the wharf is but one of a number of exemplary Cape Cod cottages, this one built in 1808 by Fenwick Bell, a sea captain.

You don't have to walk far. Nearly every building is distinguished by some curious bit of history, some period detail: a weathered gray tin or cedar-shingle roof; a mix of gingerbread bargeboard. Geraniums bloom on white porches, blue lobelia trails from window boxes, and hand-carved signs invite you to sample the shopkeepers' wares: fine imported and domestic woolens, Wedgwood sold at the company's first dealership in North America, or Inuit wildlife sculpture coaxed from stone the color of leaden Arctic skies.

Now cross to King Street, which intersects Water at the mouth of the wharf. King is the spine of the residential district, intersecting first Queen Street, then, at the top of the hill, Prince



JURGEN VOGT/IMAGE BANK

The tower of Greenock Church bears an oak tree relief, emblem of its patron's birthplace, Greenock, Scotland.

of Wales. Two blocks right is Princess Royal. The Loyalists named these streets in honor of King George, Queen Charlotte, and their fifteen children. They ran out of streets, the joke went, before the royal couple ran out of offspring.

As you walk, what strikes you is the scale and dimension of the town, which conveys an implacable sense of proportion that is very much a part of the overall aesthetic of its age. Unlike the usual pioneer-town scheme—a central pasture or "common" with narrow streets sprawling outward—the king's surveyor plotted St. Andrews into a graceful matrix of sixty perfectly square blocks, each composed of eight ample house lots of identical measure, 80 by 160 feet. The blocks were delineated by unusually broad streets. In the east and west wings of the town, he situated two "Public Reserves," or parks, like counterbalances in a clock. A third he centered at the head of the wharf. These are no longer there. Twelve additional lots on the harbor below Water Street were assigned for commercial use.

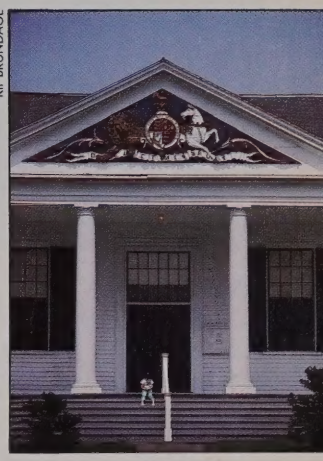
St. Andrews's gridiron pattern represented one of the first instances of urban planning in Canada. Here was a plan philosophically in harmony with the neoclassical world view already shaken by the American Revolution and soon to be swept away by the French Revolution and the romantic juggernaut of the nineteenth century. The surveyor's scheme, moreover, had a practical consequence: Large house lots and wide navigable streets for vehicles conferred extraordinary protection against fire, an ever-present danger in communities composed largely of wooden structures that relied year-round on wood fuel for heating and cooking. Today over 250 of St. Andrews's 550 buildings are more than a hundred years old, and many are two hundred or more.

The Nova Scotia settlements were derided by swaggerers in the newly minted United States—"Nova Scarcity" they called the colony, referring to the early hardships incurred by the exiles, including many in St. Andrews, especially during their second winter. But in May 1784, just six months after landing, William Pagan, Robert's brother, could boast to John Adams's old Loyalist friend Dr. William Paine: "We have now about Ninety Houses up, and great preparations making in every quarter . . . for more. Numbers of inhabitants are daily arriving and a great many others are hourly looked for." He noted with satisfaction that "a number of valuable inhabitants . . . wish to emigrate here, being tired of their new Government." Dr. Paine was among them.

For three years the king provisioned the Loyalists with the essentials—food, tools, window glass, livestock—which they transformed almost overnight into the farms, sawmills, shipbuilding shops, and wharves on which their wealth would depend. Within five years the town erected six hundred buildings and the population swelled to three thousand, larger than it is today. So inundated with refugees—more than thirty thousand in all—was the whole Fundy region that in 1784 New Brunswick, "the Loyalist Province," was carved from Nova Scotia's northwestern precints. Today, if you ask a New Brunswicker where his family originally hails from, he is as likely to tell you New Jersey or even Plymouth Plantation as London.

By 1803 the town was cresting on the enormous wartime profits gained by Britain's long conflict with revolutionary France and later with Napoleon. St. Andrews was cutting four hundred thousand board feet of lumber annually and had built forty-two square-rigged commercial vessels since 1784. As many as a hundred schooners might sail on a single outgoing tide. St. Andrews was ferrying the wealth of the Empire in a mer-

Within five years the town put up six hundred buildings and had a larger population than it does today.



KIP BRUNDAGE

Victoria's coat of arms decorates the 1840 Charlotte County Courthouse.

CANADIAN PACIFIC ARCHIVES

Between the wars the beach at Katys Cove was open to hotel guests in the morning and to the townspeople and their children after two.

cantile triangle between New Brunswick, Britain, and the West Indies, thus realizing the province's motto, *Spem Reduxit* ("Hope Restored").

The town's prosperity was soon reflected in the houses, churches, and public buildings that constitute the civic wealth of any community. English by choice but Yankee by heritage, the Loyalists at first built houses derivative of the colonial styles they had left behind: ground-hugging, functional Capes and modest Georgians, the architectural standards of the age in both America and Britain.

Architects were scarce at first in the Fundy region, but skilled cabinetmakers and ship carpenters abounded. Using the so-called pattern books of the era—popular manuals providing floor plans for fashionable contemporary buildings—local craftsmen melded indigenous materials and local needs into a comprehensive architectural sampler. Within the central district's 1.5 square miles—roughly the area of Central Park in New York City—the next century in St. Andrews produced a medley of the most influential building styles of three hundred years: Palladian, Georgian, neoclassical, Greek Revival, and later the fabulous miscellany of styles included under the broad rubric of the Victorian Romantic Revival.

And St. Andrews prospered mightily, well into the new century, in spite of the War of 1812, an Anglo-American conflict that Loyalists elsewhere regarded as a continuation of the Revolution. For those in the Fundy region—a people who had already made their peace at the counting table—the war was largely a nuisance brewed in Washington and London. St. Andrews built two blockhouses and a fort, but its most effective defense, and that of its U.S. neighbors, was an agreement among the border towns to simply treat the conflict as an exercise. Still standing and unscathed, St. Andrews's remaining blockhouse is the last of twelve martial defenses on the coast. It has survived not so much the trials of war as the ravages of time; its various big guns never fired a shot in anger. In fact, the only items exchanged by the 1812 "combatants" were not bullets but contraband gypsum for plaster walls. The war merely encouraged an already lucrative commerce in smuggling; Benedict Arnold himself had run a brisk business out of nearby Campobello Island in the 1780s. Smugglers "traded on the lines," transferring goods at the border without actually crossing it. Yankee pragmatism, recall, was a common heritage.

By 1820, after the world's first severe industrial depression, which followed the Napoleonic Wars, legal trade too flourished. And it was in the increasing finery of their new homes that the merchant princes of St. Andrews best expressed their civic sensibilities. The simple Georgian bloomed into the neoclassical town house. (Some architectural historians use the terms *neoclassical* and *Federalist* interchangeably, though the word *Federalist*, for obvious reasons, never gained currency in Canada.) Like its Georgian antecedent, the neoclassical house is gracefully proportioned, but it incorporates a profusion of

classical motifs: ornately detailed pediments, pilasters, and columns, decorative gable windows, and an elaborate central entry. A fine example at St. Andrews is Chestnut Hall, home of the Ross Museum.

Chestnut Hall was built about 1810 by the son of the Boston Loyalist Col. Christopher Hatch, who, like Robert Pagan, had been proscribed as a traitor and banished from Massachusetts in 1778. Little changed over the years, the house was acquired in 1938 by the American philanthropists Henry Phipps Ross and Sarah Juliette Ross, his wife, whose father was an early chief at Dun & Bradstreet. The museum is furnished with the Rosses' extensive collection of antique furniture and decorative arts, some from China but much of it the accomplished artistry of nineteenth-century New Brunswick cabinetmakers. Because the pieces are exhibited in the context of a private home, you can't help feeling that you're a privileged guest in another era.

In St. Andrews, staunch Loyalists were for the most part staunch Anglicans, since membership in the Church of England was required to obtain a royal land grant. The first minister to arrive, in 1786, was the Anglican clergyman Samuel Andrews, of Connecticut. (The town had been named not for Parson Andrews but for St. André by a seventeenth-century French Jesuit.) The original Anglican church, built in 1790 but now gone, served all congregations until 1818, when the Reverend John Cassilis, a Presbyterian minister from Scotland, decided to build his own kirk, as the Scottish church is called. The project soon ran out of funds, however, inviting the sectarian scorn of the Episcopalians. One evening at a dinner party a wealthy Scottish merchant, smuggler, and rumored privateer named Christopher Scott suffered a slur about the idleness of Presbyterian saints and resolved to finance the church himself. Thus St. Andrews acquired what many regard as its architectural centerpiece: the Greenock Presbyterian Church.

The Greenock builders too were guided by the

In the 1850s, after sixty years of furious economic activity, St. Andrews went bust.

Guests on the verandah at the Algonquin about 1925. In that era families might spend two months vacationing at the hotel.

COURTESY OF THE ALGONQUIN HOTEL

The mock-Tudor Algonquin Hotel. Early promotional literature promised guests they would be safe from hay fever and mosquitoes.

pattern books, notably Asher Benjamin's popular New England builders' series. Hence the church combines three traditions—New England, New Brunswick, and Scottish. Its crowning glory, plunging heavenward through the tree line, is its triumphant spire, modeled on a Christopher Wren steeple in Scotland.

Entering the church's narrow double doors, you find two long galleries, left and right, supported by solid bird's-eye maple pillars. The central pulpit rises to the level of the galleries and is clasped shut by gates, symbolizing the exclusion of worldly things. Look carefully. You'll find not a nail or metal brace in the entire edifice; the craftsmen cut and carved each member lovingly, painstakingly, from prime Honduran mahogany and local bird's-eye maple, locking them together, like hands in prayer, with invisible bonds. The silver communion chalices, the collection boxes, the pulpit Bible, and the box pews are all original.

A few blocks north and east, you'll find the 1791 Loyalist Burying Ground, the final resting place of many town fathers, including Robert Pagan and Thomas Wyer, who in 1777 escaped a dunking in a Massachusetts tar barrel by traveling two hundred miles in an open boat to Nova Scotia. Angus McDonald, a cousin of Flora Macdonald, Jacobite heroine and accomplice of Bonnie Prince Charles, lies here too, as do a number of sailors "in harbor here below," hapless women lost in childbirth, and young victims of those once inscrutable and intractable poxes and fevers of childhood.

The cemetery's most dramatic inhabitant is Charles Briscoe, who died in 1830, a wraithlike figure who had wandered the town on a great white horse and hinted that the bluest of blood ran through his veins. He claimed, moreover, to have papers to prove it, which he had buried with him with the provision that they be disinterred fifty years after his death. The documents, after half a century in the damp Maritime soil, were illegible; nevertheless, an ivory miniature bearing the image of George IV was found. From this scant evidence, an artifact set in pearls and bound with a locket of hair, some believe Briscoe to be the natural son of the regent George and Mrs. Fitzherbert, a Roman Catholic, whom he married secretly in London in 1785. The marriage was officially declared childless.

A block from the Loyalist cemetery is the 1840 Charlotte County Courthouse, the oldest Canadian courthouse in continuous use. The building is Classical Revival in style—a more ponderous

SHERMAN HINES/MASTERFILE

version of the neoclassical—and its pediment bears Victoria's royal coat of arms, the lion and chained unicorn. Beside the courthouse, in austere contrast, squats the granite jail, built in 1832 and closed in 1979. From here, on occasion an inmate was led to the gibbet on the courthouse green.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, after sixty years of volatile economic activity, St. Andrews went bust, its prosperity swept away by the power of steam and the decision to establish its rival, St. John, as the region's primary railway terminus. However, St. Andrews did not languish like other Maritime boom towns in the waning age of sail; it soon flowered anew, as a playground for the rich and powerful.

St. Andrews's gilded age was shaped by an informal nineteenth-century alliance between the nation's political power brokers—just then forging Canada's first independent government—and the captains of industry, particularly the principals of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Between them, they parlayed the town's natural beauty and remarkable past into an unprecedented commodity, the Maritime summer resort. Within a generation, solid St. Andrews, the Loyalist refuge and commercial wonder, would become chic St. Andrews-by-the-Sea, the "Newport of the North." Before long, travelers would come from as far away as St. Louis, Washington, and New York, and the floating palaces of the Vanderbilts and Morgans would idle at anchor just offshore.

Promoters soon realized that a first-class resort required a first-class hotel and a convenient way to get to it. In 1871 two events conspired to secure the success of the fledgling summer colony. The first occurred in Bangor, Maine, when President Grant drove the last spike of the Maine and St. John Railway. The new line cut the trip to St. Andrews from Boston and Montreal, which had entailed a long trip by steamer for the last leg, to less than twenty-four hours. The second event was the commissioning of the Argyll Hotel, the first resort complex on Canada's East Coast. The depression of the 1870s delayed completion for a decade, but the Argyll finally opened on May 24, 1881, Victoria's birthday.

The Argyll prospered under the management of the New Brunswick and Canada Railway, and in 1889 another syndicate of steamship and railroad moguls, mostly from Boston and Bangor, built St. Andrews's present-day grand hotel, the Algonquin. Fire, which had destroyed the Argyll in 1892, ravaged the Algonquin in 1914, but it was rebuilt in a single season. Today the 187-room hotel rises above the hill on Prince of Wales like a rambling old English manor house in Tudor style, an ivy-clad edifice of whitewashed walls with dark wood trim, green-trellised verandas, bannered turrets, and a sun-bleached red-slate roof. The landscaping and architecture of the Algonquin weave a spell so reminiscent of the turn of the century that you almost expect to see couples whirling to Strauss behind the trellised windows. Even the staff participates in the illusion; kilted bellboys whisk away your baggage and at dusk lower the flags, both Canadian and American, to the thrilling wheeze of bagpipes.

From the beginning St. Andrews's history had been braided with ours, and this was no less true in the resort era than in any other. Because the Algonquin was an international enterprise, representatives of both nations, including the governor general of Canada and the governor of Maine, attended its opening. Some of the Algonquin's Boston backers took up residence in town and went on to become naturalized and distinguished Canadian citizens. Without question, however, St. Andrews's most prominent American-born resident at this time was Sir William Van Horne, the corpulent general manager of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Lured to the CPR as much by an irresistible challenge as by the highest salary ever paid a Western railroad man—a scandalous fifteen thousand dollars a year—Van Horne was the genius behind Canada's 1885 transcontinental railway, a vast and daunting enterprise confronting stern and variegated terrain. Ardent Canadian nationalists branded him a "Yankee Trojan horse," but the only horse he ever gave a damn about was the iron horse. He completed the project in just four years. In 1894 Victoria raised him to the peerage, after Van Horne had twice declined the honor, and the scrappy kid from the Illinois Central's railyards became "Sir William."

The distinction did little to refine his Yankee earthiness. A man of prodigious appetites and childlike exuberance—"I eat all I can, I drink all I can, I smoke all I can, and I don't give a damn for anything!" he once boomed—Van Horne brought a spark of genius and a talent for conspicuous consumption to the crafting of Covenhoven, his Dutch-style manor house on five-hundred-acre Minister's Island just off St. Andrews's northern shore. Covenhoven, like a castle with a fickle moat, is accessible only twice daily, when the ti-

At dusk kilted bellboys lower the flags, both Canadian and American, to the wheeze of bagpipes.

CANADIAN PACIFIC ARCHIVES

A 1920s poster promoted golf, which is still popular with tourists.

KIP BRUNDAGE

Patterned after a typical Normandy farmhouse, Pansy Patch was built in 1912. Today the cottage doubles as a bed-and-breakfast inn and an antiques store.

tan Fundy tides retreat to expose a subaquatic road to the island.

When Van Horne ran into difficulties enlarging Covenhoven, he contracted a gifted young Canadian architect, Edward Maxwell, to advise him. Maxwell would one day design Regina's legislative buildings and Montreal's Museum of Fine Arts. His signature style, however, was the picturesque Queen Anne Revival cottage, popularized in the United States as the Shingle Style. The antithesis of the well-proportioned Georgian, the Queen Anne home was irregular, almost eccentric, in plan, shape, color, and texture. It employed what one writer described as an "almost medieval arrangement of roofs, dormers, chimneys and gables" to suggest elegance without formality. Consonant with the fey aesthetic mood of the era, houses acquired fanciful titles—Clibrig, Les Goelands, Berwick Brae—that sounded straight out of a Sir Walter Scott novel. The apotheosis of the Queen Anne Revival house can be seen at Maxwell's own summer retreat, Tillietudlem, opposite Minister's Island. Others—Hillcrest, Meadow Lodge, and Rosemount—are just a leisurely walk from the Algonquin.

Today, on the Algonquin's trellised veranda, the descendants of Loyalists and revolutionaries can share an incendiary nine o'clock sunset secure in a mutual respect for a kindred heritage. Yet St. Andrews's mystique for Americans has always run deeper than merely an appreciation for fine architecture and natural setting, a fraternal ancestry, and a genteel past. It has to do with a warp in the fabric of Anglo-American history, a heightened appreciation for the grace, traditions, and, above all, the resilient British spirit that we south of the border, by some ineradicable instinct, long to claim as our own—a spirit composed of the same British traits of individualism and initiative that animated both the rebel cause and the Loyalists' stolid reaction to it. More than two centuries ago at a dinner party in colonial Massachusetts given by John Adams's Loyalist friend Dr. Paine, who eventually settled in St. Andrews, Adams rejoined a toast to "His Britannic Majesty" with an impudent toast to "His Satanic Majesty." Mrs. Paine, unfazed, remarked that "as the gentleman has been so good to drink to the health of the King, let us by no means refuse to drink to *his* friend." Perhaps even John Adams would agree it's time to give the devil his due. ★

Donald R. Canton, a teacher and writer, lives in Pembroke, Maine, fifty miles from St. Andrews.

TO PLAN A TRIP

A traveler's package on hotels, bed and breakfasts, restaurants, and activities is available from the Chamber of Commerce, P.O. Box 89, St. Andrews, New Brunswick Canada E0G 2X0 (506-529-3555), or the New Brunswick Department of Tourism, P.O. Box 12345, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada E3B 5C3 (800-561-0123).

St. Andrews Civic Trust Inc. (P.O. Box 484, St. Andrews, New Brunswick, Canada, E0G 2X0) makes available for fifty cents a handy pamphlet titled *A Guide to Historic St. Andrews.* Available at the tourist building on the wharf, the guide identifies thirty-two architectural and historical highlights, plus ten Maxwell cottages. The tour can be accomplished in a day, but you will no doubt want to linger some places. For a sensitive treatment of the people and houses of the resort era, Willa Walker's *No Hay Fever & a Railway* (Goose Lane Editions Ltd., 248 Brunswick Street, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada, E3B 1G9) is recommended. Some might also enjoy the Civic Trust's *St. Andrews Heritage Handbook*, an architectural primer for restoration. Shops in town stock both books.